



NEWS PAGES

THE MUSKERS
UP FOR GRABS

IN THE TABLOID

IN THE TABLOID

Blair's pledge to the dark estates

Anthony Bevins
Political Editor

Housing estates where the biggest employer is the drugs industry were yesterday cited by the Prime Minister as part of a legacy of Tory neglect and incompetence.

But Tony Blair said in a speech about the help and hope that Labour would offer the "workless class" of a divided Britain that he wanted government by results.

Dogma would be replaced with rigorous pragmatism, and the balance of action would be shifted from too-late cure to early prevention. "We will support the successes and stop the failures," Mr Blair said.

In his first non-parliamentary statement on the approach of his administration to the crisis of inheritance, the Prime Minister went to a rundown housing estate in Southwark, south London, to spell out his One-Nation plans to bring back the "will to win" for the people who had been forgotten under 18 years of Conservative government.

"It is a legacy that previous generations of Conservatives would have felt ashamed of," Mr Blair said. "After several years of economic growth, 5 million people of working age live in homes where nobody works. Over a million have never worked since leaving school."

"For a generation of young men, little has come to replace the third of all manufacturing jobs that have been lost. For part of a generation of young women, early pregnancies and the absence of a reliable father almost guarantee a life of poverty, and today Britain has a higher proportion of single-parent families than anywhere else in Europe."

The raw statistics included 150,000 deemed to be homeless and, possibly, as many as 100,000 children not attending school in England and Wales.

Adding to his litany, Mr Blair said nearly half of all crimes were concentrated in only a tenth of neighbourhoods; dozens of failing schools were



A security guard on the Aylesbury estate, London, visited by Tony Blair yesterday, patrols a disused underground car park shut down by vandalism

threatening another generation with unemployment and failure; housing estates, where only one-third of homes had a telephone, were cut off by poor public transport.

"Behind the statistics lie

households where three generations have never had a job. There are estates where the biggest employer is the drugs industry, where all that is left of the high hopes of the post-war planners is derelict concrete.

Behind the statistics are people who have lost hope, trapped in fatalism."

While the country's leaders had faced the challenge of creating a welfare state after the last world war, today's challenge for

everyone, not just government, was to bring the new "workless class" back into society.

Last night, Peter Lilley, one of the challengers for the Conservative leadership, said two days of tough headlines had

turned out to have the "flimsiest of foundations". He added: "In Opposition, Labour lived by soundbites, but they can't expect to govern by soundbites, too."

But Mr Blair said the Tories had failed the challenge of a di-

Photograph: Peter Macdiarmid
vided society because they had believed "we could afford to forget about a workless minority".

They had been proved wrong because the cost of the "workless class" had fallen on business and people in work. "The Tories

had failed the challenge of a di-

never guessed that social security spending would double since 1979... that crime would more than double, or that benefits for lone parents would now cost £10bn each year."

Stressing that there was no question of penalties for single mothers, who would be offered help to get them off benefit, Mr Blair repeated that there was no option of an inactive life on benefit for the 250,000 young people who would be offered work or training under the welfare-to-work programme to be financed by the windfall tax Budget, on 2 July.

"Work is the best form of welfare," Mr Blair said. And to create the opportunity for work, the way government works had to be changed.

"Before embarking on new policies, it is salutary to remember that the equivalent of all the revenues from North Sea Oil has been spent on poverty over the last 25 years - yet poverty got worse. If we are to succeed, and to avoid the pernicious combination of profligacy and neglect, it is incumbent on us to learn from the mistakes of the past."

Mr Blair said the Tories had fallen into the trap of short-termism, dealing with the results, rather than causes: more was spent on unemployment than on education and training.

The Prime Minister also said that the Government machine lacked coherence and communication, too often working at cross purposes. "This matters," he said, "because it leads to poor policy and wasted resources - like excluding pupils who then become a huge burden for the police."

The third mistake made by the Conservatives was in allowing policy to be driven by dogma, rather than common sense. Mr Blair said he wanted departments, companies and communities to seek out what worked. "We will back anyone if they can deliver the goods," he said.

Donald Macintyre, page 19
Blair's visit, page 3

Jospin faces a rough ride after coasting to victory

John Lichfield
Paris

At one point during the French election campaign, Lionel Jospin was heard to say: "I just put my head down on the handlebars and I don't think about the road ahead." On Sunday, Mr Jospin, the First Secretary of the Socialist Party, led the Left to a surging victory in the political equivalent of the Tour de France.

Tomorrow at 11am he will become Prime Minister. Abruptly, the road ahead, steep, twisting and scattered with potholes, is his responsibility.

The cycle-racing metaphor, and other unguarded comments during the campaign, suggest that Mr Jospin knows that elements of the Socialist programme are unlikely to survive contact with reality. Even before the second round of the election, Socialist leaders were dampening public expectations: all would depend on their budgetary "margin of manoeuvre"; perhaps the mandatory reduction in the working week to 35 hours would mean some slight loss of pay after all.

Mr Jospin has promised, above all, to create a different governing culture, one in which politicians "tell the truth and do what they say they are going to do". He knows that another failure by the Left - by any government after five zig-zags of political direction in 20 years - could do serious damage to French democracy.

On the far-right, Jean-Marie Le Pen waits confidently for another political disaster. The centre-right, humiliated on Sunday, may be ready to implode. Dissident parts of both the Gaullist RPR and the UDF alliance may, in extremis, be prepared to think the unthinkable and do deals with the National Front.

Mr Jospin is an honest, competent, likeable man. He got off to a brisk start yesterday after being formally offered the premiership by a chastened and severely



Jospin: Promises a different culture

weakened President Jacques Chirac at the Elysee Palace.

Mr Jospin promised to announce his government by the end of the week. It is likely to include at least two Communist ministers and some old Socialist favourites - perhaps Jacques Delors or Jack Lang - as well as several rising stars such as Mr Delors' daughter, Martine Aubry, and the Mayor of Strasbourg, Catherine Trautmann.

But even before the demands arrive from the Communists and other allies in the left majority, Mr Jospin must know that he cannot easily deliver the promises made by his own party. Preserve the single currency, but soften the Maastricht guidelines. Create 700,000 subsidised jobs at a final cost of £3bn a year, but allow no increase in the total tax take. Reduce VAT on some items and social charges on business; but soften the last government's welfare reforms and abandon the sell-off of France Telecom.

It will probably fail to Dominique Strauss-

Kahn, the Socialists' economic spokesman, who invented this programme, to try to make it work as Finance Minister.

In Britain, Labour inherited good growth, low inflation and low unemployment. In France, Mr Jospin inherits high unemployment (12.8 per cent), stuttering growth and a half-chewed, anti-state, supply-side revolution. Will he abandon this entirely, or complete parts of it?

During the campaign, Mr Jospin said the principal requirement was to boost domestic demand. He promised a conference in the first month between government, employers and unions to push up wages. He said the deflationary policies of the Alain Juppé government were self-defeating, reducing growth, reducing tax income, increasing government spending and forcing further cuts. There is some truth in the criticism. Ceasing the deflationary efforts to squeeze the French foot in the glass slipper of Maastricht may help a little.

But what if EMU implodes, or is delayed, forcing up interest rates, cutting the foreign investment in France which was beginning to pick up?

Tony Blair in Britain and Bill Clinton in the US were able to position themselves as the inheritors, and humanisers, of an anti-state revolution which had succeeded but left many victims in its wake. The revolution has not yet happened in France. Some on the French left argue that they will be able to invent a new way, mixing piecemeal state reform with greater concern for the human costs of globalisation and computerisation. Others admit that the Socialists are still inventing policy on the hoof.

Mr Jospin has placed a great stress on abandoning the monarchical, patronising style of previous governments. If he delivers on at least this promise, it will help. But he will not be judged by it. He will be judged by his success in delivering growth and jobs.

Tremor shakes Right, page 10 and 11

Five years on, the news from Rio is failure

Nicholas Schoon
Environment Correspondent

Five years ago today the United Nations' Rio Earth Summit opened in Rio de Janeiro. At

the time it looked like a historic event: the largest gathering ever of prime ministers and presidents, held to address a gathering environmental crisis which had been the subject of intensive debate and research for more than two decades.

More than 70 presidents and prime ministers have pledged to attend a follow-up event in New York, Earth Summit plus Five, later this month.

But it looks like being as empty an event as the 1992 meeting in Brazil - another long text to be negotiated which no one reads and is soon forgotten, stirring speeches, empty agreements. For the record, the UN Conference on Environment and Development (its official name) is largely one of failure.

The developed countries, with the exception of the United States, pledged to strive to increase their aid to the Third World; it has fallen sharply since.

They said that by 2000 they would stabilise their rising emissions of climate-changing greenhouse gases; it now looks certain that the great majority will fail to keep that commitment, with Britain and Germany the two major exceptions.

For at least a quarter of a century, it has been convincingly argued that humanity is on a

road to disaster because it is failing to take a long-term view of its crucial relations with nature and natural resources.

It is not the end of the world which is looming, but a series of interconnected crises - climate change, lack of fresh water and fertile soil, collapsing fish stocks - in the first few decades of the next century. Unless action is taken now, the costs of adapting to this degraded world will be colossal, and the toll will be measured in ill health, early deaths and insecurity as well as in money. The harm mounts as each year of inaction passes.

Since 1992 there has been strong economic growth globally, partly from huge increases in international trade and private-sector investment flowing from rich countries to poor. So development is taking place by and large people around the planet are living longer, enjoying better health, seeing living standards rise. And much of that prosperity does more environmental damage; it also provides societies with the resources to tackle the problems - if they choose to.

But the gap between rich and poor is widening within countries and between them. The planet could do with a real Earth Summit, when world leaders really do make history and change course towards sustainability. But at the moment, New York seems more likely to consist of mere words and a group photograph.

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QUICKLY

Halifax bonanza

Halifax members who sold their shares when the bank floated yesterday received windfalls worth an average of £2,400. The shares began trading at £774.5 and closed at £745.

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July 1st 1997

significant shorts

Belfast council votes in first nationalist mayor

Belfast councillors last night voted in the first-ever nationalist Lord Mayor in the history of the city, following the recent council election in which Unionist parties lost their overall majority in the city.

The new Lord Mayor is barrister Albin Maginnis, 47, of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. He was elected with the support of Sinn Fein and the cross-community Alliance Party. Mr Maginnis, who has been a city councillor for 12 years, last night said that the city's political mould had been broken. But he added: "It's fracture does not mark a defeat of one political tradition by another. Nor is it a victory, but rather it signifies a bold step towards the creation of a partnership amongst the political traditions in this divided city."

David McKittrick

CJD variant kills 15th victim

Another Briton has died of "new variant" Creutzfeld-Jakob disease (nv-CJD), the fatal illness which is linked to consumption of food contaminated with bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE), or "mad cow disease" and has so far affected 17 people in the United Kingdom.

The latest monthly figures, published yesterday by the CJD Surveillance Unit in Edinburgh, show that two people have died of nv-CJD this year, and a total of 15 since the disease was first identified about 18 months ago. Two people who have been diagnosed with the disease are still alive. Scientists cannot say how many people will be affected because the disease has a long incubation period, often of more than a decade.

Charles Arthur

Crackdown on violence in hospitals

Measures to improve the safety of patients and staff in accident and emergency departments were announced by the Government yesterday. New guidelines, sent to National Health Service trusts, cover matters from decor and lighting to the arrangement of furniture and positioning of alarms.

Baroness Jay (left) the Health minister, said the Government was keeping its promise to help reduce assaults on nurses, doctors, and other staff working in the NHS.

"Hard-working and hard-pressed staff in the NHS are entitled to feel they can go about their daily work free from the threat of violence and intimidation. We want to help them to do so," she said.

Jeremy Lawrence

Councils to seek value in services

Councils will no longer be forced to invite private firms to bid to run services. Local Government minister Hilary Armstrong announced yesterday. Instead of compulsory competitive tendering (CCT) local councils will be required to seek "best value". This will amount to a sort of promise by councils to seek the most efficient way of delivering services. But the Government also plans to keep a reserve power to send teams of managers into councils that fail to satisfy official auditors that they are providing services cost-effectively. The best-value formula was agreed with the Local Government Association when Labour was in opposition.

David Walker

Racism commission faces tribunal

An Asian employee of the Commission for Racial Equality began her claim for racism against the commission at an industrial tribunal yesterday. Raj Naidoo claimed at the tribunal in Croydon, south London, that she was twice passed over for a job in the CRE's legal department in 1993 and again in 1995. The hearing continues today.

Matthew Brace

Pupils win trial for crumbling school

Two parent governors and their teenage sons yesterday won the first round of a test case to have vital repairs totalling £2m carried out at a comprehensive school. The city's education department had urged the magistrate to throw out demands for the repairs to be carried out at Childwall comprehensive in Liverpool. But lawyers for the pupils and governors, who allege that the conditions in the buildings are prejudicial to health, argued that the issue should go to trial and a hearing was fixed to begin in 20 October.

Matthew Brace

Winds fan nature reserve blaze

More than 80 firefighters from Shropshire, Mid Wales, Staffordshire and Hereford and Worcester brigades were yesterday tackling a huge blaze fanned by high winds on the Long Mynd in Shropshire which started in an area of heather and gorse and spread to Forestry Commission land, engulfing 50 acres by evening. The Long Mynd, a 16-mile ridge which runs along the England-Wales border, is a valuable habitat for rare birds and flowers and much of it is a designated nature reserve.

Matthew Brace

Greenpeace

Greenpeace was not identified in last week's report by the Institute of Welsh Affairs (page 2, Saturday) as one of the unnamed environmental pressure groups which formed "cosy" relationships with the media to exploit for its own ends the grounding of the *Sea Empress* at Milford Haven. We are happy to make this clear.

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BACK ISSUES

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people



The governor: Janet McTeer receiving her Tony award in New York for best actress in *Ibsen's A Doll's House*. Her co-star and fellow Briton, Owen Teale, took best actor in a triumphant night for the production imported from London. It also picked up

the best director award for Anthony Page.

Earlier this year American Equity threatened to ban the production claiming some of the parts could be played by American actors, but the producers refused to compromise

Photograph: AP

Clinton aide strengthens Blair's White House link

Sidney Blumenthal's appointment as a top aide to Bill Clinton has added further lustre to the fast-blossoming relationship between Tony Blair and the American president: the leading liberal journalist is a close friend of both leaders.

A journalist for 27 of his 48 years, with stints at both the *New Republic* and most lately at *Tina Brown's New Yorker* and several well-regarded books under his belt, Mr Blumenthal is the latest proof of how the revolving door between politics and the media is spinning as fast as ever in the US.

Early in his first term President Clinton enlisted David Gergen, the moderate conservative columnist, to help sort out his chaotic fledgling administration. Mr Gergen left after clashing with the celebrated George Stephanopoulos - who in turn departed the White House last year for the lucrative and more tranquil pastures of authorship and ABC News.

Now it is Mr Blumenthal's turn. His new post of as-

sistant to the President, which he is due to start next month, will see him deeply involved in policy making and speech writing. Proof of his status, he is being given one of those coveted offices in the West Wing itself, scarcely larger than cubbyholes, but within spitting distance of the Oval Office.

His appointment is another sign of how the "special" is fast returning to the relationship between London and Washington, in the era of New Democrats and New Labour. Not only is the Anglophile Mr Blumenthal one of the dwindling band of Clinton cheerleaders in a largely disillusioned US press corps.

He is also very close to Mr Blair, whom he first met as Shadow Home Secretary before hosting a much-noted cocktail party at his home during the Opposition leader's visit to Washington in April 1996, and then writing a highly sympathetic *New Yorker* profile of Mr Blair that was his introduction to the wider US public.

Rupert Cornwell

Twins were just misunderstood, says Kray brother

Charles Kray told a court yesterday that his twin brothers Ronnie and Reggie were much misunderstood, kind-hearted people who had great respect for the public and would help anybody.

The perception that the twins were "vicious and bloody gangsters" was wrong, and in the East End of London their reputation was still high, he added.

A frequently weeping Mr Kray, right, was giving evidence at Woolwich Crown Court in south-east London where he is accused of involvement in a £39m drugs plot.

Mr Kray, 70, said he often played the role of peacemaker where his brothers were concerned. Questioned by his defence counsel, Jonathan Goldberg QC, he agreed "the public perception was of very violent and bloody gangsters" but insisted this was wrong "until you knew them."

He continued: "Ronnie had a mental illness and had certain mood swings and roundabouts. When he was alive he was a kind-hearted man who would help anybody, but he was not responsible when he had those moods."

Reggie had a few fights and things like that but when his wife Frances died he kind of had a death wish...

"We know what they did was



Asylum doubt for abused British boy

A 12-year-old boy faces being repatriated from Canada to Britain despite fears that he cannot be protected from being abused by his father and paternal grandparents.

The Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board ruled in January that the boy should be granted asylum because the British authorities could not guarantee his protection from abuse.

But the Canadian immigration minister, Lucienne Robillard, will attempt to overturn the decision.

The boy, who lives with his American mother and British step-father, is said to be a "nervous wreck" at the prospect of coming into contact with his British father, a former United Nations official. He is under "suicide watch" at a London hospital.

The Foreign Office said last night that if the boy was to be sent home, officials would negotiate with social services in order that the boy would not be harmed.

Court papers make it clear that there are fears that the boy could suffer continuing abuse from his father. The papers do not name the boy or the British local authority deemed incapable of protecting him. The decision to give an "incest victim refugee" status for "fear of persecution in their homeland" is understood to be the first of its kind made in Canada. Ian Burrell

briefing

HEALTH

Doctors plan to unmask 'disease in disguise'

A "chameleon" disease which affects up to 30,000 people in the United Kingdom - nine out of 10 of them women - is being misdiagnosed because of its capacity to disguise itself.

The Arthritis and Rheumatism Council yesterday launched a campaign to improve awareness of the little-known disease, called Lupus, which can cause kidney failure, destroy joints and trigger miscarriage. Misdiagnosis prevents early treatment which is essential for patient survival and quality of life.

Lupus is an autoimmune disease in which the immune system attacks itself and symptoms can mimic those of diabetes, multiple sclerosis or even schizophrenia. Many patients are referred to rheumatologists because GPs think they have got arthritis.

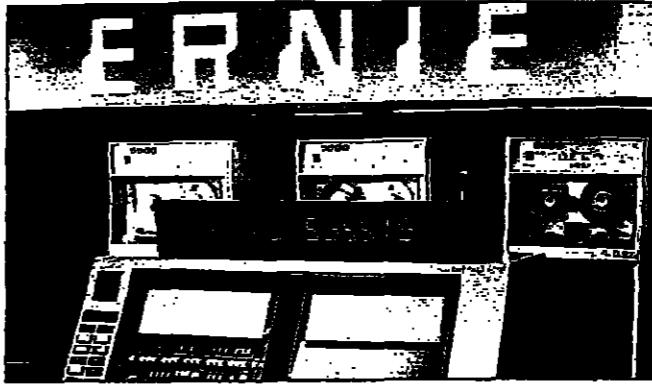
Symptoms of lupus range from joint and muscle pain to heart problems, ulcers, fever and rashes. Almost a third of patients develop kidney disease.

Treatments are more successful than 20 years ago when high-dose steroids were prescribed causing serious side effects. Today the same drugs are used in lower doses and deaths have fallen and quality of life improved but the earlier treatment starts the better the chances of success, the charity says.

Jeremy Laurance

PERSONAL FINANCE

Ernie still going strong at 40



Ernie celebrated his 40th birthday yesterday with the claim that the National Lottery has helped increase premium bond sales.

An updated Electronic Random Number Indicator Equipment, or Ernie for short, still chooses the winning numbers 40 years after the inception of the scheme in which investment has increased from £600m in 1994 to £7.6bn last year.

With the top monthly payout of £1m, so far 39 millionaires have been created and 23 million people currently invest.

Every investment has a 19,000-1 chance of success and National Savings, which operates the draw, claims that it has shaken off its rather old-fashioned image.

Chief executive, Peter Barreau, said: "The bonds have shaken off their image of being presents to grandchildren. More and more people are seeing bonds as a brilliant investment scheme. The publicity for the National Lottery has helped premium bonds. It encourages people to gamble, although with bonds you can reclaim your investment."

ENVIRONMENT

Cornish sea turtles under threat

A sea creature that lived through the rise and fall of the dinosaurs is under threat in British waters, a wildlife group has warned.

Three species of marine turtle, which hatch on tropical beaches before swimming to feeding grounds off the Cornish coast, are at risk from fishermen's nets, power-boat propellers, oil contamination and internal blockages from plastic debris they mistake for food.

To try to ease the problem, the Cornwall Wildlife Trust is launching a "Be turtle-aware" message for World Oceans Day this Sunday. The trust's education officer, Mark Nicholson, said: "The leatherback turtle, which can grow to over eight feet, is the one we see most often. If people know turtles are here at all, they tend to assume that they've wandered off course to feed - they're part of our wildlife and we have a duty to look after them."

The Trust is launching a turtle code, which will advise fishermen and others on how to help turtles in distress.

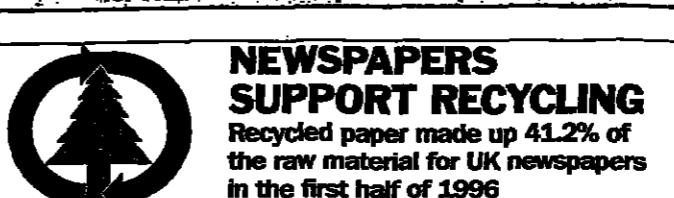
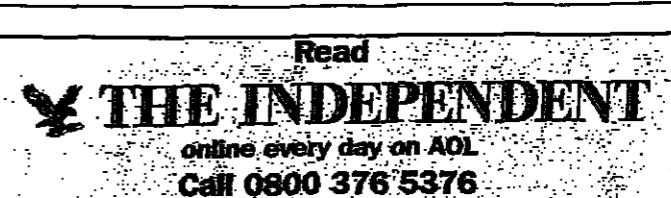
TRANSPORT

Quarter of lorry journeys wasted

More than a quarter of the miles travelled by goods vehicles are completed with the lorries carrying no loads, figures out yesterday show. Last year, 28.7 per cent of goods vehicle mileage was "run empty", statistics from the Department of Transport revealed.

It was an improvement on the 1995 figure of 29.4 per cent. Then, the amount of empty containers on Britain's roads was a major factor in the decision by the transport secretary, Dr Brian Mawhinney, to produce a rare Green Paper to try and improve the use of the motorway network. However, experts point out, that haulage firms have become more efficient. In 1980, nearly 33 per cent of lorries "ran empty".

Randeep Ramesh



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Joshua's timetable	Gets up after his younger brothers have left for school.	May help mother with some housework if it is needed.	Back in bedroom to read comics and maybe a book.	Lunch followed by television or games for three hours.	Brothers return. Goes to park to play and talk.	Back home for tea and more television or games.	And so to bed. Ready for another day of television.
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A day in the life of one of the 100,000 children absent from our schools

Judith Judd
Education Editor

Jobs under threat

Joshua Mitchell is 15 today. While his friends go to school, he will spend the day reading comics or a book or watching television – as he does most days.

Joshua, who lives in Southall, west London, was permanently excluded from his Ealing comprehensive school at the beginning of April for “offensive behaviour” to a teacher and has not attended school

since. He is one of the 100,000 children referred to by Mr Blair yesterday, who are not attending school either because they have been excluded or because they are playing truant.

Joshua is gloomy about his future. Until April, Joshua’s hopes were high. He was doing well in PE and planning to become a PE teacher or lecturer when he left school. He was also intending to take GCSEs in other subjects next summer.

Now, his life has changed. He gets

up at about 9am, just after his two brothers, aged 11 and 12, have set off for school. Then, if his mother needs him, he helps her tidy up the house for an hour or so.

By mid-morning he is back in his room, where he spends most of the morning. He reads action comics – *Brigade* and *Young Blood* are his favourites – and sometimes a book by his favourite author, Roald Dahl.

He does try to do some schoolwork by going through the exercise books he brought home after his exclusion.

“But I am just going over stuff I have done already. I am not learning anything new. It gets boring,” he said yesterday.

By lunchtime, it is time for television. He likes cartoons and watches *Neighbours* and *Home and Away*. He may play on the computer for half an hour but he spends most of the afternoon looking forward to the time when his brothers come home from school.

He takes them to a little park just opposite the house. He watches

them play or talks to his friends. By 8pm he is back home. More television. More computer. And bed at about 10pm.

On some days Diane Mitchell, his mother, who has a diploma in early years education, teaches him for an hour or so. Mrs Mitchell, who had understood that her son would be transferred to another comprehensive school, has just heard that he is being sent to a special unit. “I am in a state of shock. I refuse to let him go. My son is not a juvenile delin-

quent. I won’t let him go somewhere where the other children don’t want to learn.”

Both she and Joshua accept that they argued with a teacher but they deny that he swore at her at and they say that he left the class when she told him to go.

Joshua said: “I feel bad, very bad. When you are reading a book on your own you get bored quickly. I miss education. I miss my friends. What I want to do is just go back to school.”

David Lister
Arts News Editor

The controversial film *Crash* will open in the West End of London despite being banned by Westminster City Council.

Distributors Columbia Tri-Star have cocked a snook at Westminster’s ban by organising a “ring of screens” around Westminster for the movie.

The film which explores supposed links between sex and car crashes, will open on Friday at the ABC Shaftesbury Avenue, just yards from Leicester Square, the hub of London cinema.

However, the ABC is technically in the London borough of Camden and outside Westminster’s jurisdiction.

Columbia Tri-Star has also managed to have the film screened from this weekend in Kensington, Notting Hill and Fulham Road in the borough of Kensington and Chelsea, and Tottenham Court Road and Swiss Cottage in Camden, all outside Westminster, but all part of London’s main cinema network.

Crash will also open at 50 other cinemas across Britain this weekend, with only Westminster, High Wycombe, Walsall and Lannershire continuing to enforce council bans despite the British Board of Film Classification giving the film an 18 certificate.

A spokeswoman for Columbia Tri-Star, said: “Obviously once the ban was enforced the distributors were looking for good West End sites. And we have found them. The other councils in London did not even ask to see the film. They were content to abide by the verdict of the BBFC.”

The film’s executive producer Chris Auty said: “It will seem bizarre to the rest of the world that a film can be banned from one group of cinemas but shown at another just a few yards away.”

Crash, directed by David Cronenberg and starring James Spader, Holly Hunter and Rosanna Arquette, focuses on a group of people who gain sexual stimulation from car crashes. The film – based on the novel by JG Ballard – is, however, made in a stylised manner depicting its central characters as unfertilised, and the sex as cold and unerotic.

Last month, Westminster called the film from its cinemas declaring it to be “bordering on obscenity”, liable to lead to copycat action and guilty of depicting women in a “sexual humiliating way”.

Westminster’s licensing sub-committee chairman John Bull explained the council’s reasons for the ban, saying: “The main characters in the film are shown as being sexually attractive, independently minded, interpersonally powerful, effective and tenacious.”

“In short they are depicted to be attractive role models. It is for this reason the sub-committee found the deviant behaviour of the main characters in relation to sex and car crashes most disturbing... It is argued that the film taken as a whole could deprave and corrupt.”

In his plea to the committee, Mr Auty said: “It seems to me that any commonsense person seeing the film will acknowledge that it paints a disturbing world, one which has become cold, technological, dehumanised. *Crash* clearly warns us against dehumanisation, against a society drifting into affectlessness.”

Leading article, page 17



‘I miss education’: Joshua Mitchell, at home in west London, spends much of the day in front of the television

Photograph: Andrew Buurman

Even the stairwells were perfumed for Blair’s visit

Jojo Moyes followed the Prime Minister to the Aylesbury estate in south London



Tony Blair yesterday at the Walworth estate where 59 per cent of 2,400 households are on housing benefit

Photograph: Peter Macdiarmid

As with the most notorious estates, the Aylesbury has bred its own vicious circle of problems. A spokeswoman from Southwark Council reels off the statistics: 17 per cent of households are registered unemployed, 59 per cent are on housing benefit and 78 per cent of its 17-year-olds are not in full-time education. There are more lone

parents on the estate than anywhere else in the borough.

There is nothing for kids to do anyway, say the residents. So they take drugs, or smash the lights in the corridors so that they can vandalise and steal without being seen.

Some of this has been tempered by the introduction, two years ago, of pri-

vate security firms who now patrol the estate in the evenings. Closed circuit cameras are also employed in trouble spots and there is a thriving neighbourhood watch scheme in place.

“It has got better,” said Paul Thomas, who had lived there four years. “The high-rise areas seem to have the most problems. But if people haven’t got anything to do then they’re going to end up in crime.”

For this reason the estate’s young are seen as a crucial part of its regeneration. The Cadogan training centre in the notorious Wembley blocks, which Mr Blair was visiting, is a key part of that. Since its inception in 1991, it has seen nearly 4,000

difference.

Emmanuel Metzger, a hotel worker, was another: “It makes a difference, him coming here. I’m happy to see him today. He cares for the masses,” he said, watching as the Prime Minister disappeared up the disinfected stairs. “We are praying for Mr Blair, that everything goes well for him. So that he can make a difference.”

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news

How a quiet man died in another bloody Ulster ritual

David McKittrick
Ireland correspondent

The killing at the weekend of an off-duty policeman by a drunken loyalist mob looks set to join the list of Northern Ireland atrocities which remain burnt in communal memory long after other deaths are forgotten.

The appalling brutality of the attack has sent shock waves even among those who have lived through the 3,500 killings of the Troubles. It has also increased the dread that this summer's marching season could be as disastrous as last year - for the death had its roots in the bitter business of contested parades.

The officer who died was Gregory Taylor, a 41-year-old constable who lived two miles outside Ballymoney in County Antrim. He was the father of three children, one of whom suffers from cerebral palsy.

He had gone for a drink with two friends, one of them another off-duty policeman, to Kelly's Bar in Ballymoney, a small pub crowded that night with more than 100 customers.

In the upstairs lounge he was identified as a policeman, jeered and abused about the RUC's action in keeping a recent Orange parade out of the Catholic village of Dunloy. Someone shouted at him: "Why don't you clear off and do your drinking in Dunloy?" A num-



PC Taylor: Tried to get help

ber of those in the bar were members of local loyalist bands.

Aware that he was in danger, the constable used his mobile phone in an attempt to summon police help. The fact that it was not forthcoming is now the subject of an internal RUC inquiry since it has emerged the nearest patrol car was several miles away.

When the two constables left the bar, in the early hours of Sunday, a reception committee was waiting in the street. The other policeman claimed he was a doctor and was chased away, but Constable Taylor was attacked mercilessly. As he lay bleeding in the gutter, his assailants took turns to kick him and stamp on his head. The constable did not take long to die; but when someone suggested getting help, one of the mob

yelled: "He doesn't need a doctor."

Last night, 15 people, including a number of loyalist bandmen and three women, were being questioned by police about this latest gruesome addition to the seemingly endless list of victims of the Troubles.

Ballymoney has escaped much of the effect of the Troubles, but over the last year some of the surrounding parts of County Antrim have been affected by disturbances arising out of last year's marching season. Residents of Dunloy objected to loyalist parades and in the ensuing stand-offs the RUC prevented the marchers from going through.

In nearby Ballymena, political heartland of the Rev Ian Paisley, loyalists retaliated by staging weekly pickets of Catholic churchgoers. These protests dragged on through the winter, and as a result the marching season - traditionally a feature of the summer - in effect turned into a year-round phenomenon.

On most weekends the protests passed off reasonably peacefully, but on occasion crowds of loyalists clashed with the sizeable force of RUC assigned to ensure safe passage for the churchgoers. In nocturnal follow-ups, the homes of several RUC officers were attacked. And on Saturday night, the loyalist smouldering anger ignited with murderous results.

Bomb could stop talks

David McKittrick and
Colin Brown

Both the British and Irish governments are reviewing the question of holding further meetings with Sinn Fein in the light of the weekend return of the IRA to bombing.

The multi-party talks are due to resume in Belfast today under the chairmanship of George Mitchell, the former United States Senator, who yesterday had a meeting with Tony Blair, the Prime Minister, in London. Sinn Fein are excluded from these talks on the grounds that

the IRA has not declared a ceasefire.

A device left in a van at Poleglass in west Belfast at the weekend contained a 1,000lb bomb, according to the security forces, and was aimed at taking the lives of security force personnel. This clear breach of the undeclared IRA ceasefire which has been in effect in Northern Ireland since 10 April has created security worries and political difficulties for the authorities.

Last week a Sinn Fein delegation led by Martin McGuinness met officials for the second

time and agreed to hold a third meeting "subject to events on the ground", which was taken to mean that contacts were dependent on a continuation of the undeclared ceasefire.

The Northern Ireland security minister, Adam Ingram, said yesterday that continuation of the dialogue with Sinn Fein had to be looked at again. He added: "We are still looking at the full information coming forward, as to what the IRA are saying about it, what Sinn Fein are saying about it and, of course, our own security assessment of it."

Uncertain times: Scottish fish producers' calls for tariffs went unheeded. Photograph: Brian Harris



Europe threatens salmon farmers

Katherine Butler
Brussels

Scottish and Irish fish farmers claimed yesterday that 7,000 jobs in the industry remain at risk from a flood of cheap Norwegian salmon after the European Commission backed away from a threat to impose sanctions on Oslo.

After a crisis meeting on Sunday night, the Commission, which handles trade negotiations for the bloc, backed a five-year deal negotiated by the trade commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan. In the face of objections from Neil Kinnock, Britain's other commissioner, he recommended acceptance of the accord to avert a trade war with Norway.

Two Scottish Office ministers flew to Brussels hoping to see tariffs slapped on the Norwegians but were disappointed.

"There is no denying that this is a disappointing outcome. The short-term difficulties which the industry will face are very substantial," said Brian Wilson, the Scottish industry minister.

Mr Kinnock, the transport commissioner, challenged Sir Leon's handling of the trade talks last week and maintained his opposition to the deal to the end. He said he remained unconvinced that it offered the European Union salmon industry adequate protection against unfair competition. Emma Bonino, the fisheries commissioner, and Padraig Flynn of Ireland, also voted against.

A majority of commissioners was swayed, however, by the argument that a five-year deal encompassing minimum prices and other safeguards was preferable to temporary duties which might not be renewed by EU trade ministers when they expire in six months' time.

Sir Leon stressed that he had secured concessions which would force the Norwegians to

sell their salmon at a price higher than the rate of tariffs. Scottish fish producers were calling for. He dismissed suggestions that the Norwegians would ride roughshod over the minimum price undertakings. He said the deal was "pretty watertight", triggering duties automatically if the price falls beneath a floor level and he promised constant monitoring.

These arguments cut little ice with the Scottish Office, however. Mr Wilson said it was "perverse and odd" of Sir Leon to suggest that he knew better than the fishing organisations how best to deal with dumping. "We have been down the road of minimum prices before and nobody in the industry believes minimum prices can be enforced because they haven't been in the past," he said.

Norway, which exports about £500m worth of salmon to the EU each year, was found guilty of illegally dumping below cost price after a lengthy investigation by EU officials this year.

Expectations were that the Commission would inflict a 14 per cent import tax, but Sir Leon surprised colleagues at the last minute by recommending an agreement.

The change in tactics sparked the most public spat to date between the two UK commissioners. Mr Kinnock said that he and other colleagues had been given no time to consider the terms of the accord and accused Sir Leon of sidelining fisheries experts who favoured taking a tough line with Oslo.

Under the terms of the deal, brokered after intensive Norwegian lobbying at the highest political level, Oslo will have to restrict the growth in the volume of its salmon exports to about 10 per cent annually. In addition to the minimum price Oslo also agreed to a voluntary increase in export tax.

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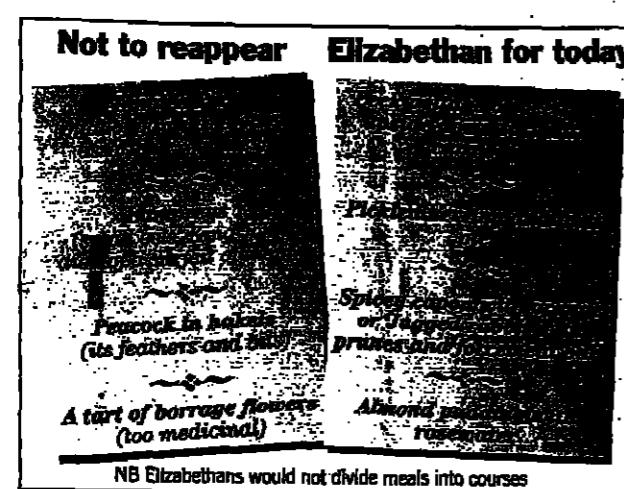
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National Trust shows how food can be old but not stale

Stephen Goodwin
Heritage Correspondent

The culinary equivalent of political correctness is about to bring about the disappearance of the baked potato and the micro-waved lasagne from the menus of many National Trust properties.

At Oxburgh Hall, a moated Tudor house in Norfolk, the process has already begun. Sir Walter Raleigh's discoveries in the New World no longer feature in the 200 lunches served on busy days.

Instead of a jacket potato or chips, visitors can now have Norfolk dumplings or a trencher of

home-baked bread. Sandwiches are off—they did not appear until the late 18th century—but there is at least the concession of a tomato with the meat and cheese platters.

The public reaction has been good, according to Alison Sloan, the catering manager at Oxburgh. "You always get some people who want a burger. But as soon as we explain what we are trying to do—make the menu authentic—they get interested and the meal becomes much more part of the visit."

"When I started at Oxburgh they bought everything in and just did jacket potatoes really," said Ms Sloan. Now the hall's

kitchen garden is being restored to grow fruit and vegetables of the period and a quince orchard already provides the ingredients for several barely remembered recipes.

For the Trust as a whole, historic menus are also about tackling an image problem—the complaint that Trust restaurants and shops all have the same stamp—and keeping ahead in the catering game.

Just down the road from the Trust-owned hall or castle is likely to be a pub serving the ubiquitous ploughman's lunch or lasagne. With 145 outlets, from tea rooms to banqueting halls, Britain's largest charity is

also a major caterer. Last year the food and teas made a profit of £1.8m on a turnover of £13.2m. This week the catering managers and chefs from eight properties are honing their skills and treating their palates at a seminar on historical menu

development being held at Parkfield training centre near Ross-on-Wye.

Drawn from places as diverse as Oxburgh and Lanhydrock in Cornwall, which already offers lunch dishes from a high Victorian table, the participants will

then act as apostles of tailor-made menus in their regions.

Food historian Sara Paston-Williams, a driving force behind the initiative, said menus should reflect the atmosphere of the house, both historically and of the family that lived there.

"Visitors pass through the dining room and often the kitchen of historic houses. Then they should be able to taste some of the dishes that would have been served there."

So at Lanhydrock, lunch can begin with Carrot Soup à la Cre-

cy (£2.50), a creamy soup made with carrots, celery and fresh herbs, adapted from a recipe in *The Cook's Guide of 1862*, which was something of a bible in the house. And for pudding, why not English gooseberry and elderflower cream (£2.60)?

Historical creations: Paul Hirons, head chef at Hidcote Manor Gardens, Gloucestershire, taking out a tray of assorted bread cooked by National Trust chefs. Photograph: John Voss

Historical creations: Paul Hirons, head chef at Hidcote Manor Gardens, Gloucestershire, taking out a tray of assorted bread cooked by National Trust chefs. Photograph: John Voss

BA strike could cause summer travel chaos

Barrie Clement
Labour Editor

Tens of thousands of holiday-makers and business travellers face a summer of severe disruption at Britain's main airports after a second group of British Airways employees decided to ballot on industrial action.

More than 9,000 ground staff at Heathrow, Gatwick and Birmingham are to vote on strikes in protest at plans to contract out catering operations at a time when a similar number of cabin crew are already being balloted in a separate dispute over pay and conditions.

Union officials are confident of a "yes" vote in both cases and unless there are substantial concessions from management the Blair government could be faced with its first major industrial dispute.

While chartered holiday flights to the Mediterranean and elsewhere should not be affected, BA's scheduled international services could be hit in the peak summer months.

While there may be scope for concessions in the complex dispute involving cabin crew, BA

yesterday insisted that the decision to sell the catering operation, based at Heathrow would not be reversed.

A spokesman for the airline said: "It is much better to invest in new planes rather than new kitchens. We are not specialists in this area and we are the only European airline producing our own food."

George Ryde, national aviation official at the Transport and General Workers Union, said the plan to hive off catering was a "kick in the teeth" to workers who had made sacrifices to ensure the profitability of the business. "In return for their efforts they wanted job security, and it is this which is being put at risk by the plan to sell the operation."

"No British Airways employee will be safe from similar schemes if the catering sell-off goes ahead. This is a highly productive and cost-effective operation, and its sale only makes sense as part of a plan to turn BA into a virtual airline built around contracted-out businesses."

As part of the campaign against the sell-off, the union is to ballot baggage handlers, clerks, check-in employees and

ramp workers as well as catering staff. The ballot result is due on 30 June. While the union is at pains to point out that they are separate disputes, it is inevitable that the action would be co-ordinated to cause the maximum disruption.

The airline yesterday acknowledged that it had contingency plans to keep the airline running if the action went ahead.

Plans to alter terms and conditions of cabin staff and to contract out catering is part of BA's determination to save £1bn in operating costs by 2000.

Other employees at the airline have accepted pay freezes in response to management structures, but there is considerable anger among the 58,000 workforce over the strategy. The company recently announced record pre-tax profits of £640m, but management argues that savings are necessary to maintain profitability into the next century.

The airline recently announced a £94m pay out to employees made up of an £89m share of the profits and 10 free BA shares each. The bonus was said to be worth at least £1,100 each for UK employees.

Swampy evicted from tunnel protest site

Michael Streeter

The environmental campaigner Swampy was back at the scene of his tunnelling triumph yesterday when he and other demonstrators were evicted from a protest site at Fairmile in Devon for the second time.

Four months after he burst onto the scene to national media headlines, television shows and his own newspaper column, Swampy – real name Daniel Hooper – was ejected from the re-occupied camp after helping to dig a new tunnel.

The action, at the scene of a planned £65m dual carriageway between Exeter and Honiton, Devon, is the start of a developing strategy by eco-warriors to revisit areas from which they have previously been removed.

One source told *The Independent*: "This could be a whole

new ball game for the authorities to deal with. They will have to guard sites closely even after people have been evicted."

And Swampy, 23, who left the new tunnel with a female protester called Lee, said: "Even though they evict us one time, we will be back and back again. Direct action is the only way to get things changed."

He had agreed to leave the tunnel because they were short of air and unable to breathe, he said. After a joint security operation by police and security staff, 10 people were removed from the camp, with two women arrested. Later road contractors finished surrounding it with an 8ft metal fence and razor wire.

Some protesters claimed they had been working on the new 1.5ft tunnel for up to a week unnoticed and had been inside

for more than 13 hours. In January, Swampy was the last of about 40 protesters to be removed, after spending a week underground.

Meanwhile, upbeat protesters at the site of the proposed second runway for Manchester Airport, who welcomed the Fairmile re-occupation, were digging in for the final onslaught last night as officials began the last stages of their eviction.

This morning Randal Hibbert, the Under-Sheriff of Cheshire, will decide whether to dig out four demonstrators still down the 60ft Cake Hole tunnel, which one of the protesters described as "unevitable", or let them come up voluntarily. The four people, Muppet Dave, Denise, Matt and Neville, are thought to have enough food and water for two

19

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OUTLOOK WORSE FOR A TROUBLED PLANET

Five years ago today The Independent devoted its front page to the crucial questions facing world leaders at the Earth Summit in Rio. Nicholas Schoon examines whether any progress has been made

HOW THE WORLD HAS CHANGED

1972 1997

Population was 3.84 billion, of whom 72 per cent lived in developing countries. It was growing at 2 per cent a year.

Nations spent US \$336bn on arms and armed forces. The number of refugees was estimated at 3 million.

There were just over 100 nuclear reactors generating electricity in 15 countries. There had been no major radiation releases at commercial reactors – but two at military facilities in Britain (Windscale) and the USSR (Chelyabinsk), both in 1957.

There were 250 million motor vehicles including 200 million cars. Their pollution was confined almost entirely to developed countries.

Sixteen billion tonnes of carbon dioxide, the most important of the man-made climate-changing greenhouse gases, were released into the air. Atmospheric concentration was 327 parts per million.

Chlorine destroys the high-altitude ozone layer which shields the planet from harmful ultra-violet light. It comes from CFCs and other widely used industrial and agricultural chemicals. Twenty five years ago, measurement of chlorine had not yet begun, but by 1975, concentration was 1.4 parts per billion. Holes in ozone layer as yet unknown.

There were just three cities with over 10 million inhabitants, two of them in developed countries. When humans are concentrated in such vast numbers, there are huge problems in dealing with their wastes, their transport needs and providing clean air and water.

Thirty eight per cent of the world's population lived in towns and cities.

Up to a third of the world's girdle of tropical rainforests had been destroyed. About 0.5 per cent of the remainder were being lost each year – some 100,000 square kilometres, an area the size of Iceland.

Around 58 million tonnes of fish were taken from the oceans as nations expanded deep-sea fleets. Two years later North Sea herring stocks collapsed due to overfishing.

There were about 2 million African elephants left, one of thousands of species known to have become endangered by humanity. A rate of extinction not seen since the death of the dinosaurs 65 million years ago was already well under way.

A total of 2,600 cubic kilometres a year of fresh water was being used, mostly for irrigation.

POPULATION

Global population is 5.85 billion – 380 million more than at the time of the 1992 Earth Summit, and roughly equivalent to an extra Europe in just five years. Eighty per cent now live in developing countries. Annual growth rate is just under 1.5 per cent, or 81 million extra people a year.

WAR AND REFUGEES

Global military spending is \$800bn (nearly \$140 for every man, woman and child) – a drastic reduction on 1992, when it was \$1,173bn (all figures in 1995 prices). The number of refugees has continued to rise; five years ago it was 15 million, now it is 26 million.

NUCLEAR REACTORS

There are 443 nuclear power plants in 31 nations, a net growth of 15 since the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, and a further 36 are under construction. Nuclear power generates 17 per cent of the world's electricity. There have been two severe accidents involving large radiation releases – Three Mile Island in the US in 1979 and Chernobyl, Ukraine, in 1986.

TRANSPORT

The number of cars in the world will exceed 500 million sometime this year. The great majority are still in developed countries, but more and more Third World cities now have dangerous air pollution levels caused by road traffic.

GLOBAL WARMING

Annual releases of carbon dioxide now stand at 23 billion tonnes per annum. Both developed and developing nations use more and more fossil fuels with each passing year, so the rise in atmospheric concentrations is accelerating and now stands at 364 parts per million – compared to 356 at the time of the Earth Summit.

OZONE LAYER AND CHLORINE

The concentration of chlorine in the atmosphere has more than doubled to just over 3 parts per billion. Thanks to international action to curb ozone-destroying chemicals (most of it agreed on before the 1992 Earth Summit), the chlorine concentration in the stratosphere should reach a peak by 1998 and then start to fall rapidly. But ozone holes will continue to open for decades to come. This year's Antarctic hole lasted a month longer than usual.

MEGACITIES

Forty seven per cent of the world's population now lives within an urban area and inside a few years it is expected to reach half. Five years ago, there were 13 megacities with over 10 million people. Today there are at least 18, with 13 of them in developing nations.

RAINFORESTS

Deforestation rate for the tropics from 1990 to 1995 was estimated to be 130,000 square kilometres a year, according to the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO). It is thought that one or two plant and animal species becomes extinct every hour as a result. The Brazilian National Space Academy estimated last year that the rate of deforestation in the Amazon had risen from 11,000 square kilometres to 15,000 square kilometres since the 1992 Earth Summit.

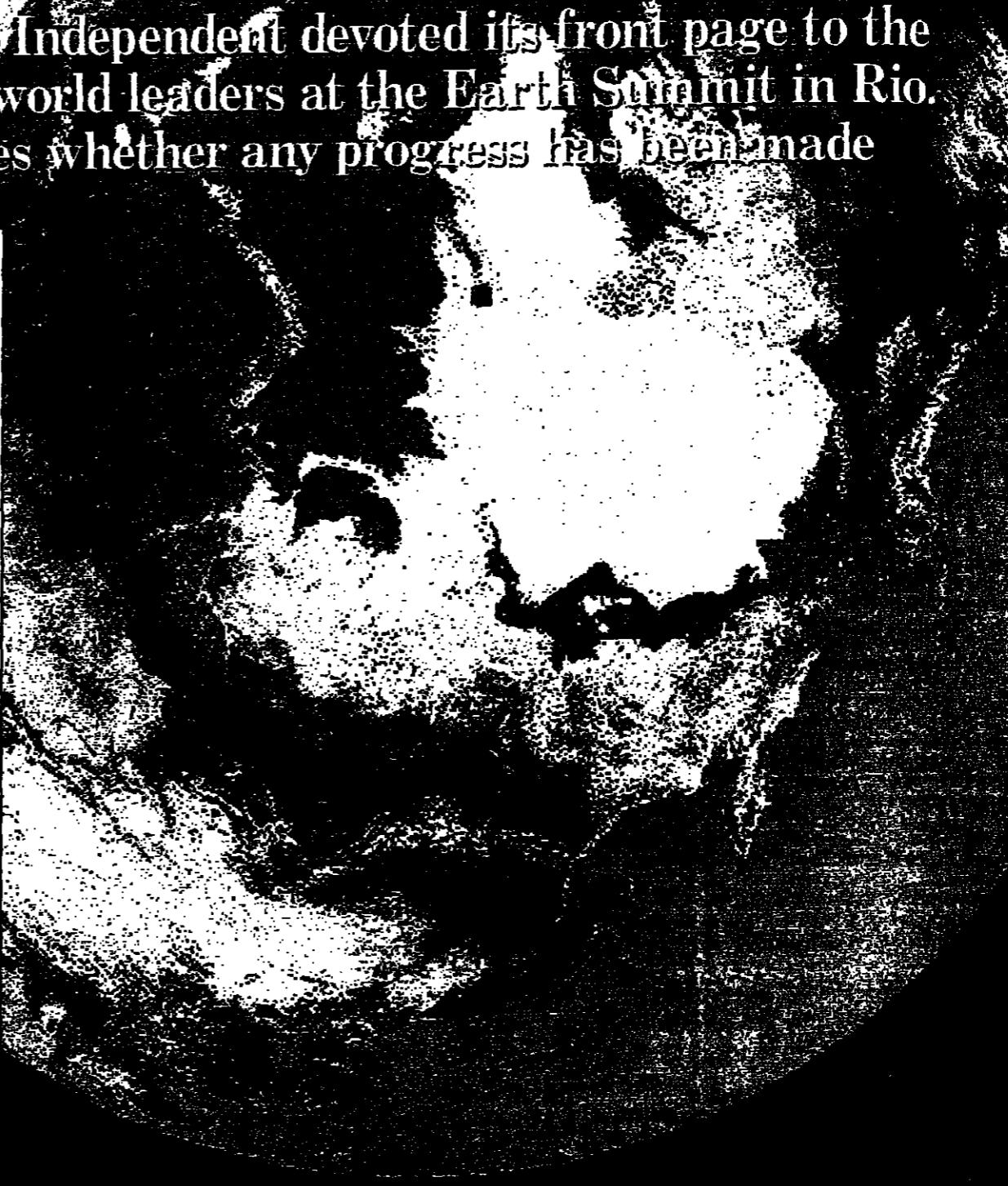
FISHERIES

After decades of steady growth, fluctuating figures for the last 10 years indicate that an upper limit for global fish catches has now been reached – or surpassed. The latest UN FAO estimate is that 90.7 million tonnes were taken in 1995, nearly 6 million tonnes more than in 1992, but less than in 1991.

SPECIES

There are now somewhere between 286,000 and 580,000 African elephants. They continue to be threatened by ivory poaching in some nations; in others where the decline has been halted elephants have come into conflict with farmers trying to protect their crops from being trampled and eaten. Globally, 168 mammal species and 168 birds are judged "critically endangered" – at very high risk of becoming extinct in the wild within a few years.

Fresh water consumption has risen by nearly two-thirds to 4,200 cubic kilometres a year – a faster rate of increase than population growth. Water supply problems are mounting all over the globe; 1.4 billion people, a quarter of humanity, lack ready access to safe drinking water.



Environment lobby's high hopes fall back to earth

Nicholas Schoon
Environment Correspondent

When, on 3 June 1992, *The Independent* devoted its front page to the global environmental crisis, we did so in order to highlight the hopes and fears surrounding the UN Earth Summit on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, which began that morning.

In just under three weeks from now, world leaders gather in New York for a follow-up meeting. Once again they will call for global partnership to tackle the problems and express their deep concern about the threats to natural resources and the planet's life-support systems.

Today we re-examine the same key environment and development data we looked at five years ago, looking at what has happened since Rio. We also add another issue, the use of fresh water, because it has since become clear that huge dangers lie ahead in this area.

Again, we compare the latest figures with the situation in 1992 when the global environmental crisis first came to attention in the Western world.

In June of that year, the first earth summit, the UN Conference on the Human Environment, was held in Stockholm. In the couple of years leading up to that event, problems of pollution, population growth, species extinction and depletion of natural resources had received abundant television and press coverage. So how then, in the intervening quarter century, have we fared in putting right our relationship with nature?

We've done badly – up to Rio and afterwards. Since 1992, most of the

trends that matter most have carried on worsening. For instance, nations rich and poor have done next to nothing about tackling global warming, despite more than 100 presidents and prime ministers signing a climate protection treaty in Brazil.

There are, however, some grounds for hope. Population growth is slowing down more rapidly than UN demographers were forecasting back in 1992. That is mainly because parents in developing countries are deciding to have smaller families, but it is also due to death rates climbing in some nations such as Iraq, Burundi and Rwanda.

The UN's best estimate for the earth's population in 2050 is now 9.3 billion, compared to its estimate of 10 billion, made in 1994.

Global spending on armaments has fallen sharply since the Earth Summit, which allows governments to spend more on environmental protection – if they choose to. The growth of nuclear power has slowed sharply and may soon end altogether, with governments losing their enthusiasm for pursuing this energy option.

Advocates of nuclear power point out that reactors, unlike fossil-fuel power stations, do not produce climate-changing greenhouse gases. But a turning away from atomic energy would probably be a gain for the causes of environment and economic development. It is expensive, there are problems in disposing of nuclear waste safely, and also risks of nuclear weapons proliferation.

For developing countries, the single greatest disappointment since Rio has been the sharp decline in official foreign aid from the industrialised nations. When they met in Brazil, the rich world

– with the exception of the US – reaffirmed its commitment to the UN target of devoting 0.7 per cent of its gross national product to Third World development. At the time, they were giving 0.34 per cent; by 1995 that had fallen to just 0.27 per cent. Britain's own foreign aid has fallen roughly in line with this global trend, but not quite as sharply. Worldwide, more and more of this aid is also being devoted to the aftermath of natural disasters, refugee crises and famines, rather than the kind of long-term projects needed to lift people out of perpetual poverty.

Over roughly the same period, there has been a huge increase in private sector cash investment in the developing world. Last year, according to the World Bank, this cash injection amounted to \$244bn (£150bn) – about six times the money that poor countries were getting from the taxpayers of the West in development aid.

However, three-quarters of this investment went to just 12 nations, with China, Mexico, Brazil and Malaysia heading the list. The investment, and the economic growth which goes with it, are a double-edged sword as far as the environment is concerned. As countries industrialise and become more affluent, the damage they to their local environment and the global atmosphere rises. Yet their rising wealth can also give them the resources to deal with the problems.

The prognosis for the earth is the same as it was in 1992, not yet a dying planet, but one which is becoming increasingly sick. If the problems are not tackled soon, in a few decades or less they will impose massive costs in terms of money, insecurity and ill health.

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The £130,000 man who will decide how much Britain's poorest must earn



Key figure: Professor George Bain, who is to head the Low Pay Commission deciding the national minimum wage

Photograph: Geraint Lewis

Barrie Clement
Labour Editor

The Government yesterday came under pressure to introduce a national minimum wage within a year by the new head of the Low Pay Commission, who admitted it could cost jobs.

Professor George Bain, whose appointment was announced yesterday, said he hoped a rate would be fixed by next summer, thereby looking to bounce the Government into

an early decision. The £130,000 a year principal of the London Business School revealed that ministers wanted the commission to complete their deliberations in 12 months, but said it could recommend a minimum by next April that could be made law within months.

The Government's favoured timetable is for the statutory limit to come into force later. Senior union leaders were told before the election it may not be introduced until early 1999.

The 58-year-old Canadian-born academic said the rate should be struck at a level to help the low paid, but which would have a minimal effect on jobs. "It will be a difficult task, but not impossible. I would be

surprised if there were not some job losses, but the question is whether those jobs would be better lost anyway."

The commission's task would be to conduct research and soundings among interested parties before advising on a figure.

Professor Bain, a respected industrial relations specialist, said his experience as an arbitrator and mediator in labour disputes would be invaluable.

Potentially there were both negative and positive effects of

a national minimum wage. It could lead to pressure from high paid workers to maintain differentials, but it could also have a positive impact by reducing staff turnover, increasing productivity, and providing a stimulus to more training, he said.

Evidence was emerging in the US that showed a minimum wage in the catering industry led to job creation.

Professor Bain, whose appointment was welcomed by trade unions, has been careful

not to identify himself with one political party. He discloses that he has voted at one time or another for all three main parties.

His involvement with industrial relations began 30 years ago at Nuffield College, Oxford, where he conducted research into white collar trade unionism.

A former head of Warwick University's industrial relations department and business school, he also sat on the Donovan Royal Commission on trade unions and employers' bodies

and the Prices and Incomes Board in the 1960s. As a member of the governing council of the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service, he has won the respect of trade unionists.

However, he also has a reputation as a tough-minded pragmatist. He argued for a six-figure salary when he applied for the job at LBS in the late 1980s

on the grounds that they had to offer the same earnings as the best such institutions if they were to compete internationally.

Number
for Ca
lottery

Blair's special team in place

Christian Wolmar
Westminster Correspondent

The Government has night repudiated suggestions that it has made more political appointments than its predecessor by announcing the full list of the 35 special advisers employed across 18 government departments, three fewer than in the previous government.

The Prime Minister also announced the full list of the 10 strong Policy Unit appointed "to bolster the centre of government and bring in fresh ideas". Its members include David Milliband, who previously worked in Tony Blair's office, Geoff Mulgan, who headed the think tank, Demos, Roger Liddle, the former SDP candidate who co-wrote *The Blair Revolution* with Peter Mandelson, and Derek Scott, who failed in his attempt to get nominated for the safe Labour seat of Pontefract and Castleford.

Other appointments to No 10 have been confirmed as Chief of Staff, Jonathan Powell, and the chief press secretary Alastair Campbell who have two assistants, Tim Allan and Hilary Coffman.

Sally Morgan is Mr Blair's political secretary, the first holder of the post since Joe Haines who worked for Harold Wilson. Cherie Booth, the Prime Minister's wife, has two part-time assistants, Fiona Miller, who is Alastair Campbell's partner, and Roz Preston.

Many of the advisers previously worked either for shadow ministers who took them into Whittle departments, or with the Labour Party. Their salary range is between £24,349 and £73,484, reflecting the fact that under Civil Service rules they must be employed at the same salary as in their previous job. The £1.8m annual salary bill is around the same as the previous administration's bill.

Full list of special advisers: Agriculture, Fisheries and Food: Tim Walker, Cathy McGlynn; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: Andrew Lappin; Defence: Alasdair McGowan; Education and Employment: Conor Ryan, Sophie Linden, Michael Barber; Deputy Prime Minister: Joe Irvin; Foreign and Commonwealth: Andrew Hood, David Clark; Health: Joe McCrae; Home Office: Norman Warner, Ed Owen; International Development: Daniel Harris, Jessica Crowe; Lord Privy Seal: Marianne Morris, Damian Welfare; National Heritage: Julian Eales; John Newbiggin; Northern Ireland: Nigel Warner; Anna Healy; Leader of the House: Ian McKee; Scotland: Murray Elder, Wendy Alexander; Social Security: John McTernan, Liz Kendall; Board of Trade: Dan Corry, Sheila Watson; Transport: Kate Davies; Chancellor of the Exchequer: Ed Balls, Charles Whelan; Chief Secretary, Treasury: Edward Miliband; Andrew Maughan; Wales: John Adams, Huw Roberts

Union chief lists price of support

Barrie Clement

Unions paid the bills which put Tony Blair into Downing Street and now it was pay-back time, according to the leader of the Labour Party's biggest affiliate.

John Edmonds, general secretary of the GMB general union, which poured £2.5m in the Labour war-chest over the past year, set out a list of

demands to end the "exploitation" of working people.

It was the first time since the election campaign began that a senior union leader has been so outspoken about the movement's role in funding the campaign and its keenness to see something in return.

Speaking at the union's annual conference in Brighton, Mr Edmonds said that Compulso-

riative Tendering in local authorities must be abolished and he called for an end to the Jobseeker's Allowance.

Zero hours contracts - where employees are on call, but only paid when they work - should also go and the national minimum wage should be set at £4.

Mr Edmonds conceded that unions had been "too big for their boots" in the past and would not make that mistake again.

There should be employment rights "for all" - full-timers, part-timers, men and

women. Workers should enjoy full protection against dismissal from unfair dismissal from the first day of employment and not after two years, as is the current policy. It is thought that the Government favours shortening the qualifying period to a year.

Mr Edmonds conceded that unions had been "too big for their boots" in the past and would not make that mistake again.

Hague clears air with Thatcher over Europe

Colin Brown
Chief Political Correspondent

William Hague went to see Baroness Thatcher yesterday to reassure the former prime minister about his views on Europe, and to clear the air after reports that she wanted to block his campaign for the Conservative Party leadership.

Mr Hague impressed Lady Thatcher when he was 16 and addressed the Tory party conference. Twenty years on, "Mother", as she is known by her friends in the party, clearly wanted to see whether her young protégé had the backbone to stand up for Britain in Europe.

There had been reports at the weekend that Lady Thatcher wanted Peter Lilley, Michael Howard and John Redwood to

combine in the late stages of the campaign to stop either Kenneth Clarke, the ex-chancellor, or Mr Hague from winning the leadership. Lady Thatcher's office refused to give details of the talks, but a spokesman said: "The only thing she has made clear is that she is not getting involved in the leadership race in the initial stages at all. She is not endorsing publicly any candidate."

The 45-minute meeting over tea and biscuits in her London private office was seen by Mr Hague's supporters as a boost for his campaign, although she will not endorse any candidate in the first round. That leaves the way open for Lady Thatcher to make her endorsement in the second ballot to tip the balance against Mr Clarke.

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Blair's
special
team in
place

Christian Wolmar

Number is up for Camelot's lottery profits

Steve Boggan

Camelot agreed yesterday to examine ways of becoming a not-for-profit organisation after failing to quell the row over huge bonuses awarded to directors in a year when donations to good causes had fallen.

"It appeared that the lottery organiser's number was up when its chairman, Sir George Russell, emerged from a humiliating meeting with Chris Smith, the Secretary of State for National Heritage, saying he would deliver not-for-profit proposals within six weeks.

Mr Smith called the meeting last week following the public

ing to be a change in the shape of the lottery in the future," he said. "We have offered to provide the Government with six weeks our views on the shape of a lottery that is without profit in the long term, and possible change in the short term."

He said Camelot had put three proposals on the table: to give the equivalent of directors' bonuses to charity; to consider changes towards a non-profit-making lottery; and to give to the good causes the interest Camelot collects on unclaimed prizes, currently about £6m.

"As chairman I'm not able to overturn contracts freely entered into prior to people starting in the company," he added. "I am prepared as chairman to pay out of Camelot's profits the equivalent amount into a charity the amount that directors will receive as bonuses and will also be discussing with directors the subject of long-term incentive bonuses for the future."

Later, a Camelot spokeswoman said the company felt the meeting had gone well, but Mr Smith declared himself anything but happy. "I would say we have made a little bit of progress but we haven't made nearly enough," he said.

"They are showing a bit of contrition but not nearly enough. They came armed with one small concession, which doesn't address the nub of the issue, which was that Camelot should make a donation from its own profits equivalent to the bonuses paid to directors. I don't believe that addresses the public anxiety and concern that's being shown and I was disappointed that they hadn't come armed with anything else."

"I'm seriously very disappointed that they haven't thought further about this before they came to see me. We'll be looking to them to come forward with a firm response by the end of the week."

On BBC Radio 4's *The World At One*, Mr Smith said he was anxious that the prize draw should be the "People's Lottery" and should be perceived as such. Failure to address the people's concerns would result in a drop in confidence, reduced sales and less for good causes. The Government planned to introduce a White Paper within seven weeks, followed by a Bill in

'Camelot are showing a little bit of contrition but not nearly enough'

Chris Smith

cation of accounts which showed that donations to good causes in 1996-97 had fallen from £1.4bn to £1.3bn and profits had shrunk by 8.6 per cent while directors were given bonuses averaging 40 per cent of their salaries.

Following the 75-minute meeting at Mr Smith's office, Sir George emerged with Tim Holley, his chief executive, and communications director David Rigg, and appeared to agree that the writing was on the wall. "We understand there is obviously go-

DAILY POEM

Loki

By Eddie Wainwright

*I am the god of mischief, the Lord of Misrule,
the one who screws it up. Put your money on me.
I answer to the pseudonyms of Sod and Murphy. I bring
bad tidings and anti-climax, causing lovers to get cramp
at just the wrong second in just the wrong places.
I am the actor who corpses in a death scene.
I inspired Queen Victoria to faint
in that abrupt silence towards the end of the Hallelujah
Chorus.
and at conventions of sexologists transpose
the consonants of Shere Hite. When I stand
on public platforms, my flies fly open,
my knickers fall off as I open bazaars.
I am the scourge of the electronic media. "Bollocks!"
I bellow into microphones believed to be switched off,
and once I announced in my most silvery tones,
"This is Victor Sylvester and his Bathroom Orchestra."
I swivel the TV camera onto unwary nosepickers and
bumscratches
and poor buggers crawling under tables to fix wiring.
At the end of the day, I shall be there, grinning
and saying, "I told you so," and tripping you up
as you enter what you think are the pearly gates.*

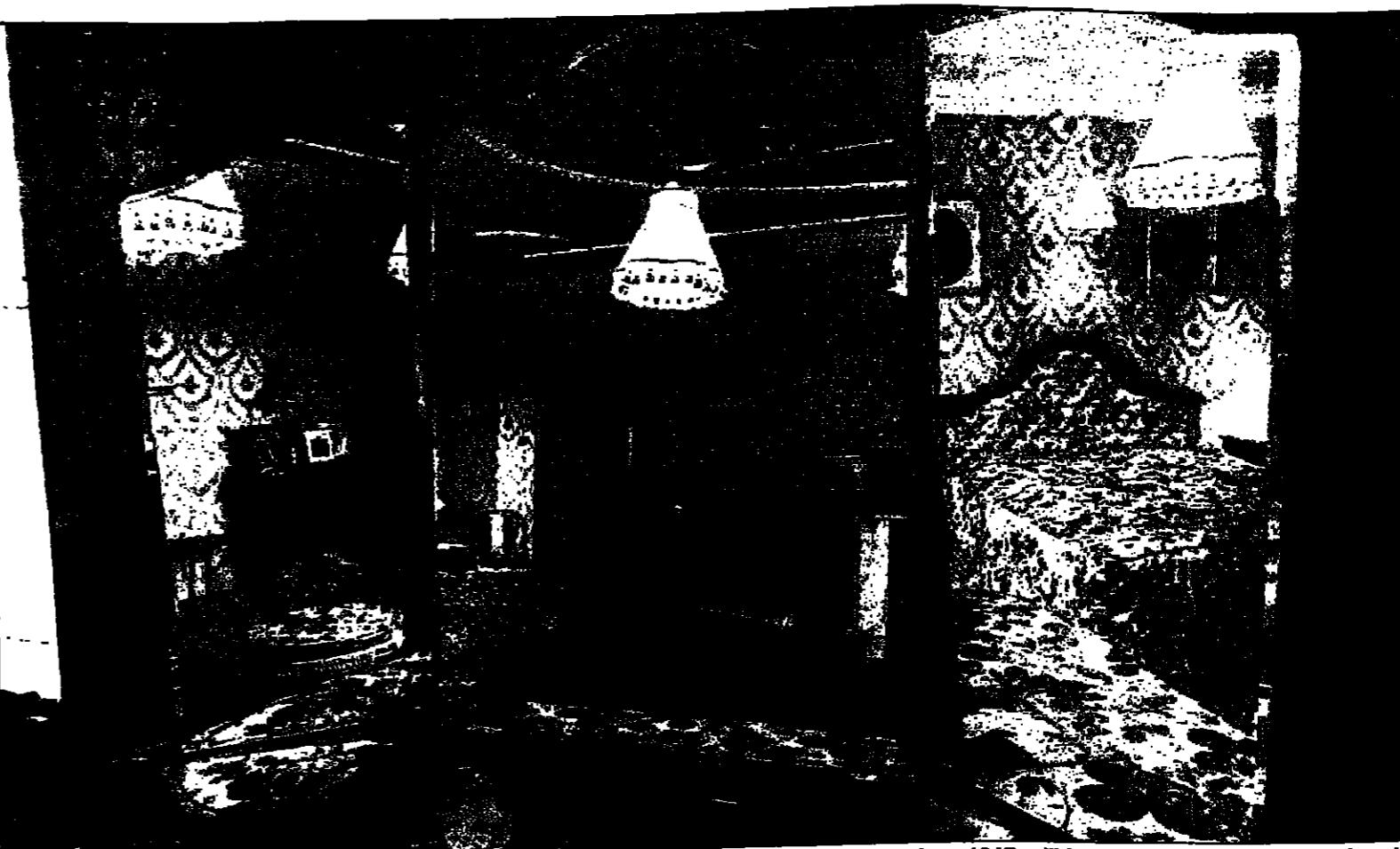
"Loki" comes from Eddie Wainwright's first full collection, *Growing Pains*. It consists of poems selected from a writing career of 35 years in an alphabetical, not chronological, arrangement, in order "to shock with the mild surprise of chance encounters". *Growing Pains* is published by Peterloo Poets at £7.95.

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Mirror image: The contents of the master bedroom at Hill Crest house in Norwich, untouched since 1947, will be sold with other interior fittings by Sotheby's on 16 June. The house was home to shoemaker W.H. Clarke, whose company later became part of the Clark's empire. Photograph: Brian Hems



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french election '97

Tremor shakes right and raises fears

Chirac's forces are set to tear themselves apart as FN surveys wreckage with glee

John Lichfield

Paris

The humiliating defeat of the centre-right in the French parliamentary election could lead to the biggest and bloodiest re-alignment of party politics for 20 years.

President Jacques Chirac's RPR or neo-Gaullist party is in danger of tearing itself into at least two pieces. The UDF alliance of small centrist and rightist parties may collapse. There was talk yesterday of renegade elements of both groups merging into new parties: a free-market, liberal party and a statist, nationalist party. The most centrist part of the UDF, the Force Democratique, was even said to be considering throwing in its lot with the new Socialist-led government.

The far-right National Front (FN) is surveying the wreckage with glee. It hopes to form tactical alliances with bits of the old coalition, helping to bring its anti-immigrant,

taining his unpopular acolyte, Alain Juppé, as Prime Minister.

Mr Chirac will, in theory, remain President for another five years. He was said yesterday to be desperately attempting to persuade the scattered forces of the right to regroup around himself. But the bitterness of the repercussions were within the RPR, the party he founded 21 years ago to take over the mantle of General Charles de Gaulle. The editor of *Le Monde*, Jean-Marie Colombani, wrote yesterday that the death of Gaullism, so often predicted, may have been made inevitable by Mr Chirac's miscalculations and the magnitude of Sunday's disaster. Without the glue of success and self-preservation, the contradictions in Gaullism may burst open.

Philippe Séguin, the man who might have been prime minister if the right had won, stated yesterday that the "knives were out" in the RPR. He made it clear he would challenge Mr Juppé for the leadership of the party, or perhaps create an alternative nationalist and statist party of his own.

Edouard Balladur, the former prime minister and a leading RPR figure, was meeting supporters in private yesterday. He was said to be considering forming a new, liberal party, dedicated to the shrinking of the French state. Charles Pasqua, the former RPR interior minister, was said to be considering striking out to "refound" Gaullism.

Life was little easier in the other partner in the ejected centre-right coalition, the UDF, which is itself an alliance of small right and centre parties, whose main centrist and rightist components were said to be considering desertion.

Alain Madelin, the former finance minister and free-marketeer, said he would "reclaim his liberty", which may mean that he will join forces with Mr Balladur and the economically conservative wing of the RPR. François Bayrou of Force Democratique talked of the need for "new political forces". He was reported to be considering taking his 43 deputies out of the UDF and forming a separate force in the National Assembly, possibly in loose alliance with the new government of the Left.

The great unknown was whether any of these splinters of the centre-right might be tempted to make tactical bargains with the FN. In making the first signs of a move against Mr Le Pen, Mr Mégré was encouraging the possibility of such unholy alliances. But it seemed unlikely that any of the mainstream centre-right figures would be tempted to take such a potentially ruinous step.

Before the election, the RPR had 257 seats in the National Assembly: it now has 134. The UDF had 206 before the poll; it now has 108. In the first round, the RPR-UDF coalition took just 31 per cent of the vote, the worst performance by the centre-right in nearly 40 years.

The blame for this débâcle falls mostly on President Chirac, who called the election nine months early and insisted on main-



Photograph: Michel Euler/AP

Facing reality: Downbeat supporters of the routed centre-right at its HQ in Paris, as the election results came in

Women rise to top in new revolution



In line: Martine Aubry, Catherine Trautmann and Elisabeth Guigou are tipped as ministers

In one respect, if no other, the new government and majority of the French left will be revolutionary. It will give French women a bigger part in the running of their country than ever before.

The number of women in the National Assembly has almost doubled from 32 to 62; the percentage has increased from 5.5 per cent, the lowest in Europe, to 10.7 per cent, slightly better than the European Union average.

The principal reason for the surge of women deputies is the decision of the Socialist Party, at the personal insistence of Lionel

Jospin, to set a 30 per cent quota of female candidates. In the event, only 27 per cent of the Socialist contenders, and only 12 per cent of the successful ones, were women. But this was enough to put a huge dent in the National Assembly's tenacious record as a gentlemen's club. There will be 50 female candidates in the last parliament.

It also seems likely that three of the most prominent members of the new government will be women. Martine Aubry, 46, daughter of Jacques Delors, and one of the most popular politi-

cians in France, is tipped to become employment minister. In the front line of the Jospin government's battle to reduce the stubbornly high rate of joblessness, if as tipped by some, Mr Delors also joins the Cabinet, they will become the first father-daughter team ever to sit in a French government. It would be difficult to find a precedent anywhere in the democratic world.

Catherine Trautmann, 46, mayor of Strasbourg, a rising star of the left after her energetic battles with the National Front, is expected to be chosen as minister

for cities and racial integration. Her reputation as a successful envoy of the far-right was confirmed at the last FN campaign rally when the Jean-Marie Le Pen, the party's leader, produced an effigy of her head on a platter.

Elisabeth Guigou, 50, the former minister for Europe, who fought off an FN challenge in Avignon, is spoken of as a possible minister for social affairs.

It is also possible that the Green alliance with the Socialists will produce a woman as minister for transport and the environment, either the Greens'

leader, Dominique Voynet or Marie-Christine Blandin, president of the Nord-Pas de Calais regional council.

Mr Jospin pledged yesterday to name his government by the end of the week. Other possible ministerial appointments include Jack Lang, former culture minister at education. Dominique Strauss-Kahn, economics spokesman, at the finance ministry, and Bernard Kouchner, leader of the radical Socialist splinter party, at health.

John Lichfield

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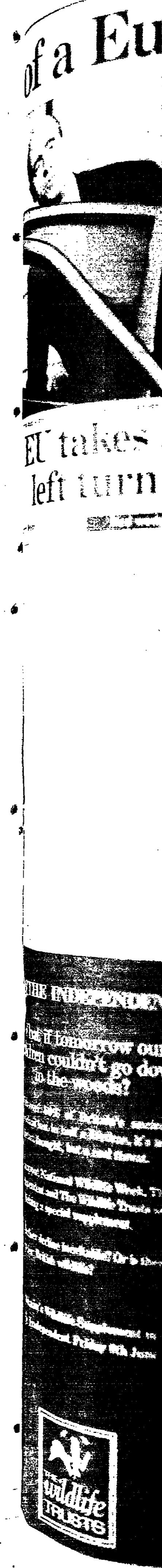
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french election '97

years of a European earthquake to come



In and out: A crest-fallen Alain Juppé (left) leaves the Elysée Palace. But it was smiles when Lionel Jospin (right) left there later

EU takes a left turn

Sarah Helm
Brussels

The Socialists' victory in France gives the left a new political dominance in the European Union, with nine out of the 15 member states now having socialist prime ministers.

Socialists make up coalition governments in a further four countries. According to European Parliament figures, two out of three voters across the Union have voted for a socialist party in the latest elections held in each of the member states.

Political analysis in Brussels cannot recall a period in the history of the EU when socialist parties have gained such support. For the first time, if the left-leaning governments band together, they can wield a qualified majority in votes within Europe's Council of Ministers.

Only two countries, Germany and Spain, are still run by centre-right governments. However, experts were swift to caution against claims that socialism is on the march. The evidence from recent European elections suggests that voters have been motivated by anger with the incumbents rather than love for their left-leaning challengers.

"The fact is that it is very hard to be popular in government at the moment," says Peter Ludlow, director of the Centre for Policy Studies in Brussels.

Commentators point out that high unemployment and welfare

Red wedge

LEFT IN POWER

The Socialists and Social Democrats

IN POWER ALONE:

Sweden Portugal Greece Italy Britain

France

RUNNING A COALITION:

Netherlands Denmark Austria

Finland

PART OF A COALITION:

Ireland Luxembourg Belgium

IN OPPOSITION:

Germany Spain

cuts are top of the electorates' concerns but are beyond the power of any one government to solve.

"The fact that governments are changing across Europe so quickly is evidence of a massive conspiracy by Europe's political élite, who fight elections on the pretence that if they change policies they can influence these events which are beyond their control," says Stanley Crossick, head of the Belmont research institute.

When Europe's socialist leaders meet in the Swedish city of Malmö this week, they are certain to discover that when it comes to the details of policy on jobs and welfare, their differences remain wide. Mr Blair, for example, will want to keep his distance from the French socialist drive for welfare and a shorter working week, preferring to emphasise his more centrist vision of flexible labour markets.



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THE INDEPENDENT

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Is further decline inevitable? Or is there hope for British wildlife?

Britain's Wildlife Supplement in
The Independent Friday 6th June



international

Nigerian warships shell Sierra Leone in bid to crush coup

Christopher Bellamy
Defence Correspondent

Nigerian warships moved in to shell the Sierra Leone capital, Freetown, at dawn yesterday as part of an attempt to end the week-old coup which overthrew the elected government and returned the former British colony to anarchy. The leaders of the mutiny, 20 junior army officers, swore to fight "to the last".

The firing in the western end of Freetown was directed at the military headquarters used by the coup leaders. Western journalists reported seeing the flashes of their guns as they kept up a sporadic fire. Diplomatic sources yesterday said the fighting appeared to have eased and the British High Commissioner, Peter Penfold, was trying to secure a ceasefire.

The Nigerians said they had re-established control of the international airport at Lungi, north of the capital, which they had held in an uneasy accord with the rebels since the 25 May coup.

"We took it this morning," a Nigerian officer said. "There was a fire-fight with the Sierra Leonean forces there but it didn't last long." The naval bombardment may have been in support of this action.

Most Westerners have been evacuated in the past few days in dramatic rescues by a French air charter company, which took out 400 British, European and Common-

wealth citizens last week, and by the US Marines, who evacuated another 800 Westerners on Friday. A few remain. Yesterday, 230 evacuees arrived at Stansted airport, Essex, and said heavily armed soldiers, some as young as 11, were terrorising the capital. About 15 Britons are believed to remain in the Cape Sierra hotel and 85, plus 12 Americans, in the Mammy Yoko hotel, the main staging post for the evacuation. The US amphibious assault ship *Kearsarge*

We lost a vehicle and a lot of cash to the soldiers but they did not harm us'

may return to Freetown to extract the last Westerners, although the Foreign Office said yesterday that all those who wanted to be evacuated had already left.

Nigeria is leading a pan-African peace-keeping force originally deployed to keep the peace in neighbouring Liberia. Its troops have an international mandate to secure the airport but have taken it upon themselves to try to overthrow the coup.

British aid worker Andrew Cox, 27, who works for the charity Concern Universal,

said boys wandering the streets were armed with machine-guns and rifles. He said armories had been pillaged and the weapons distributed among child vagrants who sleep on the beaches.

"There was a big guy with a gun," said Mr Cox. "He was very twitchy - more scared of us than we were of him ... We lost a vehicle and a lot of cash to the soldiers but thankfully they did not harm us".

Another Briton, Laura Kenya-Bacchus, 38, arrived with her baby daughter Konya, born a week ago, just after the coup. "It was very scary. I was planning to have the child in hospital but I had to have her at home because of the shooting."

The country's West African neighbours, led by Nigeria, have been trying to persuade the coup leader, Major Johnny Paul Koroma, to step down after he seized power from the elected government of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah. Major Koroma was named head of the 20-strong ruling council. Former president Foday Sankoh, leader of the United Front Army, was named vice-chairman in spite of being wanted on gun-running charges.

Mr Kabbah's election in February 1996 after the apparent end of the civil war - thanks in part to former South African soldiers belonging to the mercenary organisation known as "Executive Outcomes" - appeared to put the diamond-rich state on the path to recovery. But it did not last.

Street level view of Hong Kong's last days

Stephen Vines
Hong Kong

In the crisp, pastel-shaded rooms of Government House, Jonathan Dimbleby's film crew are shooting the final sequences for a BBC series on the last years of colonial rule in Hong Kong as seen through the eyes of the great and the good. A few miles down the road, Po-chui and Sze-wing Leong, a father-and-daughter team, are installed in a cramped high-rise flat transformed into an editing suite, putting the final touches to a Channel 4 series called *Riding the Tiger*.

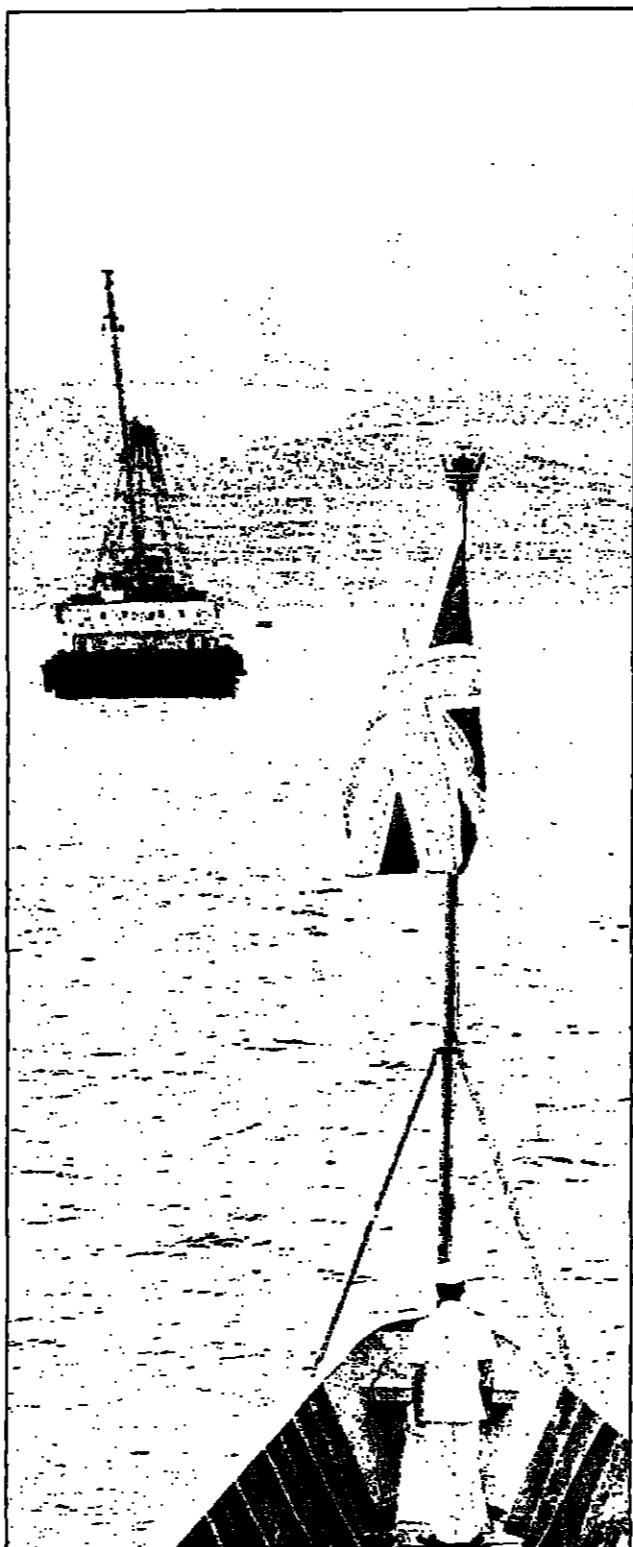
The Leongs are looking at the transfer of sovereignty through the eyes of less elevated Hong Kong people whose struggles to cope with the changes are transformed into a gripping people's history. Mr Leong, a well-known Hong Kong-based filmmaker, started the work as a private project and roped in his daughter, a television producer, once Channel 4 showed interest in commissioning a series.

Given that Hong Kong has been given an unprecedented 13 years to prepare for its change of sovereignty, it is remarkable that no one else has attempted the kind of oral history.

Mr Leong says he wanted "to capture the essence of Hong Kong in the last two years". Did he have a sense of doom about the change in sovereignty? "No, not doom, it's more like foreboding". Ms Leong stresses that they came to the project uncluttered with the burden of promoting a particular point of view. As local people, they wanted to demonstrate how "this city of survivors" was making out during the changes.

Mr Leong said the series shows "that Hong Kong is not just about 1997; in a sense that's happened already".

"Hong Kong people have



the same problems as everyone else but 1997 is always there in the background, sometimes it comes to the fore and then it goes away, but it is always there," Ms Leong added.

Over the past four years the Leongs have got to know the main characters in the series as friends.

Among the principal characters are the leader of Hong Kong's main pro-Peking political party, Tsang Yok-shing, and Christine Loh, a legislator in the

opposite camp. As the handover draws closer, such people are increasingly seen as symbols of particular viewpoints: *Riding the Tiger* shows them as human beings. Mr Tsang is transformed from an intense ideologue into a glad-handing politician; Ms Loh, a political novice, ends up forming her own party and searching for a way out of the gridlock of non-communication between the pro-democracy and pro-Peking camps.

The real star of the pro-

The Royal Navy frigate HMS *Chatham* - the last British war vessel to arrive in Hong Kong before the handover to China - facing the site of the forthcoming handover ceremonies before berthing in Victoria Harbour yesterday. The ship will be the command centre for British forces, finally escorting the Royal Yacht *Britannia* and remaining personnel from the territory on 30 June.

Photograph: Reuters

gramme is 60-year-old Mrs Leung, single-handedly bringing up a family of eight from the confines of a squatter camp after her husband died of cancer. While others in the series change their minds, Mrs Leung remains "rock solid", Mr Leong says. She is resolutely sceptical, declines to vote and fixes her sights on her next meal is coming from.

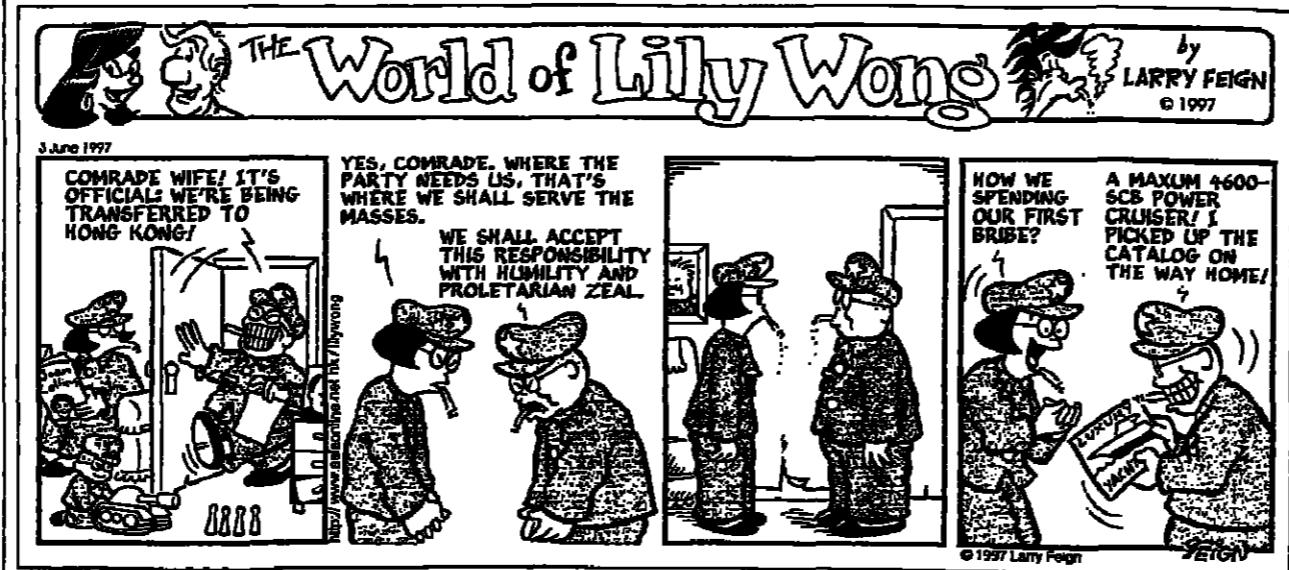
Meanwhile, Jimmy Yip is struggling to build a new life for himself across the border in China. Most Hong Kong businessmen whisk in and out of China furiously wheeling and dealing but rarely staying put for long. Mr Yip is different. He is hell bent on a make-or-break project to set up a giant theme park.

Arriving in 1994 with all the typical arrogance of a Hong Kong businessman telling their "country cousins" what to do, he learnt to adapt to China's way of doing things and invested heavily in making the right connections. His story could be a microcosm of the story of Hong Kong's business future.

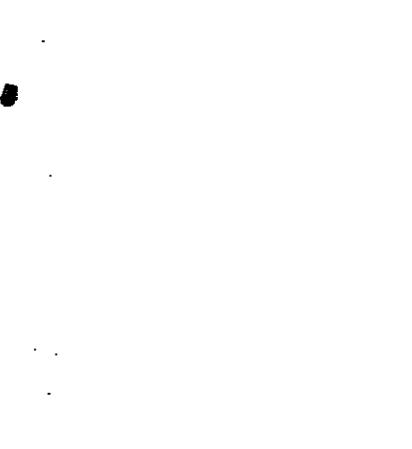
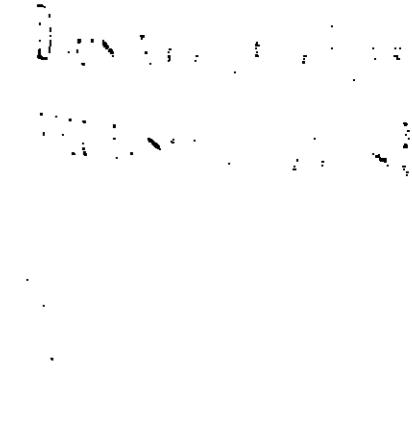
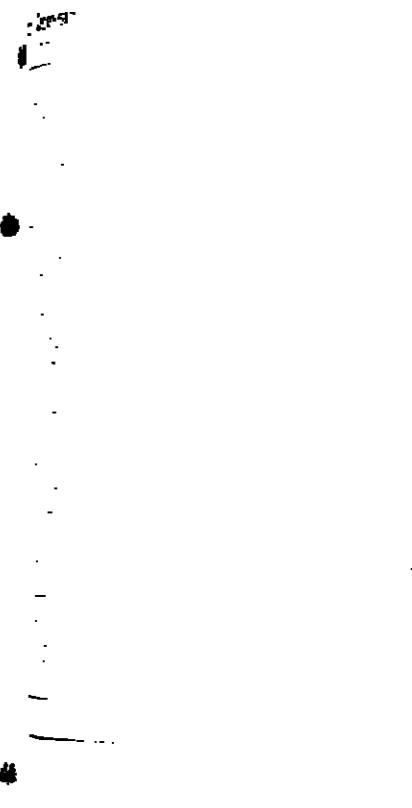
Riding the Tiger even has a love plot, involving an expatriate police inspector and a local female police constable whose relationship breaks up under the pressures of work. The Leongs refuse to say whether they get together again in the last part of the series, but the film shows them both learning a great deal more about themselves and getting a clear idea of what they really want to do as the 1997 deadline approaches.

Ms Leong says the main thing they have noticed in making the series is "that people have grown up and become more aware of what's going on". The reflex response of blaming the British for everything or trying to pin the blame elsewhere is giving way to a realisation that Hong Kong people have to take responsibility for themselves.

Channel 4 shows the first episode of *Riding the Tiger* on Saturday 7 June at 7pm.



Bolivia





Long way from home: A weathered signpost on a Cayman beach showing travellers and 'scuba nuts' the way

Photograph: Carl Purcell

The offshore islands a Budweiser than a

Grand Cayman — These islands are a long way from Hong Kong. But if the residents of the Caymans had any doubts about Britain's commitment to them, the SAS put their minds at ease the other day.

It was all kept hush-hush. Part of the Cayman Islands, one of a dozen British Dependent Territories that will remain after the Hong Kong handover, was taken over by a group of Middle Eastern Islamic terrorists. Well, actually, the "terrorists" were policemen acting the parts. As were the hostages.

But the rest of "Operation Blue Triangle", an exercise including an SAS assault backed by United States Special Forces, was dramatically close to the real thing.

Foreign Office, Scotland Yard and intelligence officials flown in from London conferred with FBI and CIA men. The White House, the Cabinet room in London and the Cayman Governor's office linked up on emergency communications.

The Caribbean island exercise was aimed at testing a US-British "memorandum of understanding" under which the Americans agree to send an advance team of Special Forces to secure the islands until British forces get here in any emergency.

Oddly enough, despite the Caymanians' expressed desire to remain a British colony, long-term thinkers might venture that the Americans themselves could be the greatest threat to the islands' Britishness.

The Americanisation of the Caymans is in full swing, from Budweiser and Burger King, and the prevalence of American banks to the high percentage of American tourists (80 per cent of the total) and the tendency to look to the US for higher education and health care.

In an emergency, Caymanians dial the American-style 911, not 999. The popular local Ska music station Z-99 is pronounced "Zee-99". There are more and more left-hand-drive cars, imported directly from the US.

There were even phony journalists —

Scotland Yard police officers acting the parts — being pushed behind cordons by real-life Yard men — with some relish.

As the American Special Forces watched in what they later admitted was awe, the men from Hereford ended the hostage crisis in five minutes flat. All hostages safe. All terrorists in "paradise".

Dutch have courage to tame JFK



Plane daft: The terminals at JFK airport in New York have become a byword for chaos

NEW YORK DAYS

It is true the Dutch once ran Manhattan, but that was three centuries ago and ended with their man, Peter Stuyvesant, being thrown out. So who is to say that today they are any more able to tame the city? Particularly when their big idea is to put flocks in the urinals.

Mayor Giuliani is not about to vacate Gracie Mansion for Wim Kok. But in a gesture of despair over its own management failures the Apple has invited the Dutch to take responsibility for a place that is the epitome of the metropolis.

It seethes and perspires and is a temple of chaos and inefficiency. We are speaking of the international arrivals building at JFK airport.

If you have flown into JFK, it is likely that your first minutes on American soil were a bit of a shock. JFK might have been grand when it opened in 1957 — then it was Idlewild — with its fountains and cocktail clubs. But now it invites obliteration by a powerful bomb.

Even after the ordeals of customs, delayed baggage, and the search for the taxi line, there is still the 30-minute-going-on-two-hour ride through Queens to Manhattan. (Did you really imagine there would be a train to take you there?) America turns out to be a land of peeling roofs, unkempt cemeteries and billboards. Only the potholes are bigger and better.

The vision is simple: a pleasant, unclogged terminal that passengers will enjoy rather than endure. There will be shops and cafés and even — though the nature of New York politics must make this unlikely — a raised rail link to the Apple's core. There will also be those urinals.

The vision is simple: a pleasant, unclogged terminal that passengers will enjoy rather than endure. There will be shops and cafés and even — though the nature of New York politics must make this unlikely — a raised rail link to the Apple's core. There will also be those urinals.

It was to the *Wall Street Journal* that the project general manager, Jan Jansen, offered this illustration of Dutch-think replacing Yank-think. He intends installing urinals with tiny black flies etched in the porcelain, as at Schiphol. The idea is to give a fellow something to aim at and to keep the flow in the pan. "Fine, laugh at me. It works. It gives a guy something to think about."

I wonder. In Holland the flies doubtless survive as gleaming beacons. In New York, I fear

there will be quickly be obscured by debris, gum and spit. There is a tidiness about the Dutch, even in the conduct of bodily functions, that I do not often observe in New Yorkers.

How sparkling do we want JFK to be in any way? So it lacks a certain elegance. So does the city. If the purpose of an arrivals terminal is to pamper and induce shopping, turn it into Schiphol. If instead it is to prepare the arriving traveller for what lies in store outside — noise, disorder, crowds, rudeness, colour, energy and confusion — then the Dutch makeover may be an error.

Next it is upstairs to the deportees level. Here, by the small food court, where my son explodes a sachet of ketchup over himself, rests the

David Usborne



Once, the only time you saw a Volvo at Brands Hatch was in the car park. But things have changed. The Volvo/TWR team recently notched up eleven victories in the British Touring Car Championship with the 850 saloon. And this season, we're racing the car you see above, a 300 bhp version of the new S40. Now of course, the S40 you'll see in the showroom can't match the performance of its racing cousin. But the 16 valve two litre engine can still take you from 0-62 in just 9.3 seconds. And you may be surprised to learn that the top speed is 130 mph. Rather less surprising are features like SIPS with side airbags, driver's airbag and ABS brakes. We may be new to winning races, but we've been winning a reputation for safety for years. The Volvo S40. From £14,925 to £23,875 on the road. Or from £350 per month via Volvo Contract Hire. VOLVO. A CAR YOU CAN BELIEVE IN.

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islands
than a

that feel more at home with taste of the mother country

although islanders still drive on the British side of the road.

"There's a saying that if the US sneezes, we catch a cold here," said Pat Ebanks, spokeswoman for the Cayman government. "Our parents brought us up British-style, with discipline, kind of 'be seen but not heard'. But we now tend to be more American in our lifestyle."

"We travel to the US. More of our students go to US rather than British universities. If we want medical care, we go to the US. But there's still a very strong connection with being British. During the Falklands war, people here started a 'Mother Needs Your Help' campaign and sent money to the war effort."

"There's always the idea that down the line we'd like to be able to stand on our feet. But it's not a thing that's uppermost in our minds. Being British has definitely helped us," said Ms Ebanks.

"This island is 99 per cent Americanised," said Harold, a Jamaican

barman at the Sleep Inn motel on Grand Cayman, the largest of the three islands, as he gyrated to the sound of a reggae band on Z-99. "People prefer it that way."

The closeness to the US - Florida is closer to Grand Cayman than Glasgow is to London - is one reason that few Caymanians publicly complain about the 1981 immigration law which bars them from settling in Britain; the law was introduced to prevent an influx of immigrants from Hong Kong.

For one thing, Caymanians are granted a special "waiver" by the US, allowing them to enter without a visa, though they receive no preferential treatment on Green Card work permits. "The Immigration law has never been an issue here," said Ms Ebanks. "The Caymans is not a nation of emigrants. Unlike Jamaicans, there was never a tradition of Caymanians emigrating to Britain.

"As with all major financial centres, we are vulnerable to international commercial crime," the London-

and our per capita income is second in the world only to Switzerland, roughly on a par with Sweden."

Per capita income here is close to \$30,000 (£18,000). On three islands, totalling only 100 square miles, there were 572 banks or trusts at the last count, sitting on more than \$300bn. There are close to 34,000 registered companies, just over one for every resident. How many of those companies adhere to legitimate business, and how much of the money in the banks is laundered drug cash, is anybody's guess.

Movies such as *The Firm*, based on the novel by John Grisham, starring Tom Cruise and Gene Hackman and featuring a plot involving money-laundering, corrupt lawyers and related murders in the Caymans, keep the focus on the island's sleazy side and rile the authorities here, who insist they are "tidying up".

"As with all major financial centres, we are vulnerable to international commercial crime," the London-

appointed British Governor, John Owen, said at a recent crime-prevention conference.

"Our message must be clear. Dirty money is not welcome here. We recognise the fact that, as Thomas Gresham, an English financier of the 16th century, said: bad money drives out good money."

"If you give a dog a bad name, he goes by it," said the Chief Secretary (and acting governor) of the islands, James Ryan, a Caymanian who has retained his ancestors' Irish accent over several generations.

"There's no doubt that in the Sixties, a lot of US currency came into this country, but we have gone a long way towards tightening up. We run a very tight ship."

"Other countries in the region may try to smear us but the Cayman Islands will have no mercy with dirty money. It's just not on and we're not going to tolerate it."

Next: Gibraltar

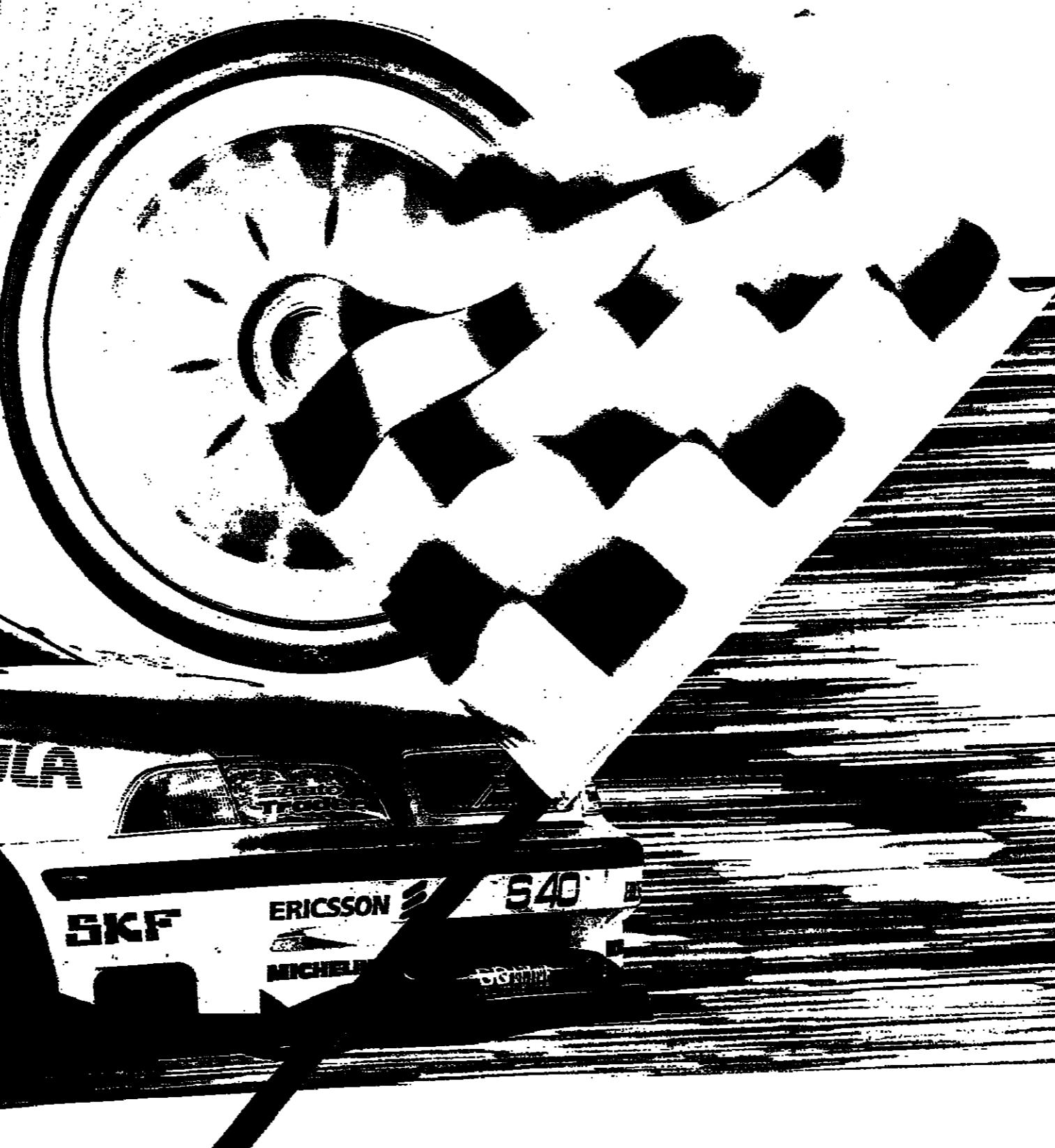


CAYMAN ISLANDS
FLORIDA
100 miles
Miami
Havana
CAYMAN ISLANDS
JAMAICA
Caribbean Sea
Population: 31,930
Area: 110 sq miles
Recognised as British
possessions by treaty of Madrid 1670; became separate Crown Colony on 4 July 1959

A little taste of history: A traditional pub sign hangs outside the Cayman Arms, Grand Cayman, revealing the Caribbean Islands' attachment to Britain; but many of the inhabitants' ideas, and much of their lifestyle, come from the nearby United States, and the bar is likely to be well-stocked with iced Budweiser, rather than with warm British bitter

Photograph: Bob Thomason

**IT'S A VOLVO. IT'S A VOLVO.
(WE PRINTED IT TWICE IN CASE YOU DIDN'T
BELIEVE IT THE FIRST TIME.)**



VOLVO
S40

US colleges fear turning colour blind



Fading faces: Numbers of black students may decrease with new laws
Photograph: Warner Brothers

Mary Dejevsky
Washington

As the academic year draws to an end on campuses across the United States, there is a growing - and slightly shocked - recognition that an era is also coming to a close. Affirmative action, the policy that discriminated in favour of applicants from ethnic minority groups, is being abolished in two of America's largest state university systems, and the effect has startled friends and enemies of the policy alike.

The autumn 1997 intake at the graduate school of law at the University of California at Berkeley, for instance, will have 80 per cent fewer black students than last year. Admissions of Hispanics have fallen by half. The result will be a Berkeley law-student body that is 2 per cent black, 5 per cent Hispanic and more than 90 per cent white and Asian.

At the University of Texas at Austin, the law school could end up with no black students at all. According to a spokeswoman, one African American was offered a place, but he turned it down because he felt he would be in the media spotlight.

It is still too early to say exactly what the effect of the new "race-blind" policy will be. The highly selective law schools are the first to make their data public. And while the University of Texas has abolished affirmative action across the board from this year, the University of California has abolished it only for graduates, with undergraduate admissions being affected only from 1998.

If initial trends continue, however - and the universities believe they will - the ethnic diversity that has transformed the face, and often the curriculum, of American universities over a generation will vanish within three years. Universities will no longer be anything like a "picture of America"; they will revert to being predominantly white institutions, with a growing number of Asians.

In abolishing affirmative action, both California and Texas have bowed to a combination of public pressure and specific legal decisions. In California, university sources acknowledge that there were regular complaints over the years when "star" school-pupils failed to gain a place. After 20 years of rumbling guerrilla warfare, the university reviewed the results of affirmative action through 1995. Last year, in a separate move, California voters approved Proposition 209, legislation that requires state institutions to be "race-blind".

In Texas, the change came suddenly, precipitated by a disgruntled applicant's successful lawsuit. Other states, and probably the federal authorities as well, are expected to follow suit.

If certain sections of public opinion are cock-a-hoop about the change, however, the mainstream US media and the universities are extremely cagey. They worry about the social implications if black and Hispanic students are effectively excluded from universities and courses with the most prestige.

The universities of California and Texas have launched initiatives to try to mitigate the effects of "race-blind" admissions. While undertaking to give more weight to test scores, as the law now requires, they are considering weighting for social or economic "disadvantage". In California, personal essays that show evidence of ability to overcome adversity will count in a candidate's favour.

Texas, for its part, is considering guaranteeing places in higher education for the top 10 per cent of pupils at every state school, a policy designed to favour pupils from poorer schools.

All these efforts stem from the view, held strongly by many university staff, that a university should strive to be not just an academic meritocracy, but a "personal learning and socialising experience" for the students. One member of staff at Berkeley, asked whether academic excellence was not the very purpose of a university, responded that this was a "widely held lay view" but "simplistic".

Whatever rearguard action the universities mount to defend affirmative action, however, officials agree that the first results of abolishing it pose disturbing questions. If the proportion of minority students falls so drastically when they have to compete on equal terms, does this mean that the efforts of the past 20 years have been in vain?

The fact that the initial figures relate only to graduate school admissions makes matters, in some ways, worse. After all, those competing for graduate courses have already completed undergraduate studies with above average grades.

The difficulty is that even in the event that the overall proportion of ethnic minority students in higher education is not greatly affected, higher education could become conspicuously stratified, with most blacks and many Hispanics eliminated from disciplines like law and medicine that lead to the highest earning and most influential jobs.

Mohammed Fadhl Jamali

As a politician, educator and diplomat, Mohammed Fadhl Jamali devoted 29 years to the task of transforming Iraq into a modern nation-state.

Then, in July 1958, came the massacre of Iraq's Hashemite royal family which jolted the *pendulum of change* and set it swinging towards the tyranny and abuses prevailing in Iraq today – abuses uncannily similar to those that flourished there under the rule of the Georgian slave-pashas (*manukas*) in the early 19th century.

Like other leaders of the monarchist regime Jamali was tried and condemned to death. Though the sentence was commuted he was imprisoned for three years until 1961 when his release was obtained through the intervention of world figures including King Mohammed V of Morocco, Dag Hammarskjöld and Pope John XXIII. For the remainder of his life he lived in exile and was politically inactive.

When speaking of his career Jamali always insisted that education had been his great passion. When he was born Iraq was an obscure outpost of the Ottoman Empire; and it was not until after Turkey's defeat in the First World War that it acquired a separate existence. In 1921, soon after the British government gained its mandate over the territory, a kingdom was established. Its first ruler, Faisal I, had no doubt of the importance of education in creating a self-reliant state; and it was he who noticed Jamali's gifts and sponsored his higher education at the American University of Beirut and then at Columbia University in the United States where he acquired his doctorate.

Jamali grew up in the holy city of Kadhima. Situated amid palm groves on the outskirts of Baghdad, its beauty lay in the cerulean-blue tiles and golden domes of its shrines; and it was here that Jamali's father served the Shia community as a guide and religious teacher. Despite this conservative ambience, Jamali soon emerged as a committed moderniser. Returning from his first student year in Beirut he caused a furore by publicly urging the emancipation of

women and the removal of their veils.

In 1929 Jamali began his association with Sati al-Husri who was seeking to establish an educational system designed to inculcate notions of progress, nationality and race deriving from the works of European thinkers like Johann Fichte and from examples provided by the recently formed states of Italy and Germany. As an Arab nationalist he pleased Husri by his commitment to causes like the Palestinian struggle against Zionism; and he was successful in resisting pressures from British "advisers" when, for example, they sought to endow Iraq with a British-controlled, English-style public school. But he clashed with Husri on several points of educational principle and eventually superseded him as Director General of Education. Whereas Husri argued that universal education should await "the cultivation of an enlightened class", Jamali deeply imbued with American ideals, championed education for everyone, even including Iraq's Bedouin tribesmen, on which subject he had prepared his doctoral thesis.

In 1944 Jamali transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and assumed the roles for which he is best remembered outside Iraq – as Foreign Minister and as Iraq's lively and loquacious representative at the General Assembly of the United Nations.

With the advantages of hindsight it is now obvious that Jamali's policies were at times mistaken and contributed to the tragedy to which he fell victim in 1958. Like his colleague and occasional adversary, Nuri al-Said, he was keenly aware that Iraq was geographically the closest Arab state to Soviet Russia. Gripped by Cold War paranoia, he refused to trust the efficacy of the collective all-Arab security alliance favoured by President Abdul Nasser of Egypt. Instead he emphasised reliance on Britain and the United States, launched a powerful anti-Communist propaganda campaign and fostered alliances with Turkey, Pakistan and Iran.

Though this "Northern Tier"



Jamali on trial for treason in Baghdad, 1958. He was found guilty and condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted

Baghdad Pact, was excellent in military terms, its main effect was dangerous as it increased Nasser's hostility to the Iraqi leadership and drove his legions of supporters – including a huge number of Iraqis – yet closer to the Communist enemy. On the positive side, however, Jamali won much respect and gratitude for his ardent support of the *Palestinians, Eritreans, Tunisians* and other anti-colonialists in moments of crisis.

As Prime Minister in 1953 and 1954, Jamali combined humane motives with a shrewd realisation of the value of internal reform as a further means of countering Communism. Opening the parliament in December 1953, the 18-year-old king, Faisal II, outlined reforms including the expansion of social services, increased wages for government employees and the encouragement of small ownership of agricultural land.

Lewis Crook

named Uncle Jimmy Thompson who, on 28 November 1925, ushered in a new era in country music broadcasting when he played, accompanied by his niece Eva Thompson Jones, for over one hour. Other solo acts including the black "harmonica wizard" DeFord Bailey and, most notably, Uncle Dave Macon early on became stars of the *Barn Dance* – shortly to be re-named *The Grand Ole Opry* – but it was local string bands that dominated its bands.

As Dr Humphrey Bates and the Possum Hunters, Dad Pickard and his Family, the Gully Jumpers, the Fruit Jar Drinkers and the Crook Brothers were at the centre of its weekly output. Many of these musicians were talented amateurs and as such initially weren't paid. Indeed, through

out their long careers on the *Opry*, both Herman and Lewis continued to work outside music: Herman as a tobacco twister for the American Tobacco Co and Lewis as a salesman, first for the National Life and Accident Insurance Co (then owners of WSM) and subsequently for the Texas Boot Company.

In his 60-plus years with the *Opry*, Lewis Crook played each of its venues from the three WSM studios A, B and C through to the Hillsboro Theatre and then from 1936, the Dixie Tabernacle, progressing three years later to the War Memorial Auditorium – at which time portions were first networked across the States by NBC and a 25 cent admission began to be charged – and on to the famous Ryman Auditorium where it remained until transplanted to its

present location at Opryland. The Crooks' claim to have performed at each of these venues remains virtually unique.

By the late 1930s a shift had taken place with the old-style bands gradually giving way to acts like Roy Acuff, whose charisma and professionalism rather than amateur status heralded an age of solo stardom which remains today. Their presence on the *Opry* stage continued to diminish over the years with group members gravitating to those that remained: Alcyone Bates and Staley Walton of the Possum Hunters, for example, both joined the Crooks as did Gully Jumpers' guitarist, Bert Hutcherson.

By the early Eighties only two such outfits remained: the Crook Brothers and the Fruit Jar Drinkers; anachronistic re-

minders of an earlier age. Herman and Lewis, now accompanied by the fiddler Earl White, nevertheless continued to perform traditional numbers like "Goin' cross the Sea" and "Lost John" every Saturday night, making their final appearance on 4 June 1988, just six days before Herman's death.

They are not well represented on disc. Although one of the first acts to record in Nashville, taking part in Victor's pioneering sessions in the city in 1928, their only other recordings are to be found on a 1962 Star album with his fellow *Opry* veterans Sam and Kirk McGee, guitarist, Bert Hutcherson.

Paul Wadey

Lewis Crook, banjo player and singer; born 1909; married; died Castalian Springs, Tennessee 12 April 1997.

Although it was within the social sciences that his first book

caused an uproar

Anthony Palmer

Peter Guy Winch, philosopher; born 14 January 1926; Lecturer then Senior Lecturer in Philosophy, University College, Swansea 1951-64; Reader in Philosophy, Birkbeck College, London 1964-76; Professor of Philosophy, King's College London 1976-84; Professor of Philosophy, University of Illinois at Urbana 1984-97; married (two sons); died Urbana, Illinois 27 April 1997.

Peter Winch left Swansea in 1964 to take up the post of Reader in Philosophy at Birkbeck College, London. While there he edited the influential journal *Analysis*. In 1976 he was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy at King's College London. Eight years later he crossed the Atlantic to become Professor of Philosophy in the University of Illinois at Urbana. He died in Illinois shortly after chairing a meeting of the American Philosophy Association.

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No challenge to extradition to Hong Kong

LAW REPORT

3 June 1997

The Home Secretary did not act unreasonably in deciding that the respondent would not be exposed to the risk of injustice or oppression if he were extradited to Hong Kong to face trial there after the handover. On the evidence their Lordships would not be justified in holding that he had failed to address himself to the right question.

The House of Lords allowed the Home Secretary's appeal against the decision of the Divisional Court, which had quashed a warrant under section 12(1) of the Extradition Act by which the Home Secretary had ordered the respondent to be returned to Hong Kong at the request of the Governor to face trial on charges of corruption.

Kenneth Parker QC and James Eadie (Treasury Solicitors) for the Home Secretary; David Vaughan QC and David Perry (Tinamus Solicitors) for the respondent; Alan Jones QC and James Lewis (CPS) for the Government of Hong Kong.

Lord Hope said that it was submitted for the Home Secretary that the issue was whether he

Professor Peter Winch

Peter Winch's academic career really began when, in 1951, he became a lecturer in philosophy at University College, Swansea. Here he met Rush Rhees, the friend and literary executor of Wittgenstein.

Through Rhees Winch came to appreciate the importance of Wittgenstein's work, which showed itself in everything he wrote. He himself, after Rhees' death, became one of Wittgenstein's literary executors. At Swansea Winch developed not only a close friendship with Rhees but also with the philosopher Roy Holland. During that period University College, Swansea, carved out for itself a reputation for a quite distinctive concern with the philosophy of Wittgenstein which, to a certain extent, it still enjoys today.

Winch had read Philosophy, Politics and Economics at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, graduating in 1949. He then took only recently introduced Oxford BPhil degree, which was rapidly becoming the major training ground for British university philosophy teachers. He might therefore have been expected to go on to teach and develop the kind of philosophy which became known as "ordinary language philosophy" or "linguistic analysis" associated with the names of Ryle and Austin which was to dominate English philosophy for more than a quarter of a century after the Second World War. This, however, was not to be.

In 1958 Winch published a monograph, *The Idea of a Social Science and its Relation to Philosophy*, in Holland's "Studies in Philosophical Psychology" series; a book that was to form the basis of the position he has since occupied in contemporary philosophy. Its central thesis was what Winch took to be the truism that "the concepts we have settle for us the form of experience we have of the world". As he surveyed recent events in Iraq, Jamali must surely have felt as sad as his first mentor, King Faisal I, who shortly before his death wrote: "There is still – and I say this with a heart full of sorrow – no Iraqi people but unimaginable masses of human beings ... giving ear to evil, prone to anarchy and perpetually ready to rise – against any government whatever."

Alan Rush

Mohammed Fadhl Jamali, educationalist and politician; born Baghdad 20 April 1903; Prime Minister of Iraq 1953-54; married Sarah Powell (three sons); died Tunis 24 May 1997.

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interview

The man from the ministry of culture

Chris Smith, Heritage Secretary and scourge of the Camelot fat cats, aims to sow the seeds of an artistic flowering reminiscent of the heyday of the old GLC, he tells Polly Toynbee

Sir George Russell and his Camelot team were just coming out of the Secretary of State's office as I was being ushered up in the lift. Were they abashed? Were they contrite? He has no idea, but guesses ruefully that it would be "substantial".

He turns with distaste from the Camelot miscreants. We discuss a subject he much prefers, how better to use the lottery arts money. Arts institutions everywhere have been appalled at finding that lottery money can only be spent on capital projects. "It is now spent on the wrong things, on buildings and not on people," Smith says. There have been many warnings of great echoing empty arts monuments with no money to pay for any kind of arts to happen within them. But now Smith says he will allow the money to be spent on the arts themselves.

He will encourage those distributing the funds to set their own coherent strategy, proactively seeking bids in the fields that they want to promote instead of waiting for haphazard bids to land on their doorstep. It means, for instance, that where some excellent, perhaps local community, project has worked very well, the funders will be able to recommend replicating that success elsewhere by soliciting bids from local authorities who may never have thought of it.

Nonetheless, it was plain Chris Smith was genuinely angry. "You could say we had a full and frank exchange of views," he said between gritted teeth and then laughed, shaking his head in disbelief at these men who had so badly misjudged the new mood of the times (or simply chosen to ignore it). Hundreds of thousands of people had called the Heritage department over the weekend to express their disgust. Many had boycotted the lottery, delivering its worst ever Saturday income. Chris Smith said the small concessions the greedies had offered would go no way towards mollifying public anger. He wants an answer to his own stiffer demands by the end of the week.

But what if they put the famous two lottery fingers up to him, probably reckoning they won't get the next contract anyway, so why not take the money and run? He replies, "If they do that they would be very foolish. They will fail to redeem their public honour", sounding like a vicar who had just caught bad boys piffing the church charity box. Is that all? No, Smith says.



Chris Smith
Andrea Whittam Smith

He may go further: "I am going to ask for work to be done" to examine how much money would have to be paid in compensation if the Government overturned the Camelot contract before its 2002 ending date. He has no idea, but guesses ruefully that it would be "substantial".

He praises the old reviled GLC in its heyday as an example of what he wants to see happening all over the country – the days of fireworks on the river, a myriad of small arts projects, a thousand artistic flowers blooming. He has favourite schemes, such as the Gateshead metro carriages that are unexpectedly transformed by artists, live music in shopping malls and airports instead of Muzak, bleak urban spaces made beautiful with sculpture and sympathetic landscaping.

Both he and Mark Fisher, his deputy, talk with a kind of breathless energy about how their department will become the pivotal point of the new Jerusalem, New Labour's spirit and soul. Until now, the place has been a lost staging-post where nothing happened under four heritage secretaries in just five years, all transients on their way up or down, most singularly unmoved by the arts. Where was Chris Smith last Saturday night? At *Elektra*, at the Royal Opera House, a more difficult opera where tickets, he said, were still to be had for £7.

So what can they do? All new government buildings from now on will be works of art. All government furniture, for instance, will no longer be a purely functional but an aesthetic statement. (Over the next few years examine every new chair and coffee cup). As patrons of good design, the Government has huge influence but fails to use it or even to think about it. Their enthusiasm is catching and soon you begin to visualise their castles in the air. In Jerusalem the Golden there will be art everywhere. Music will play, artists will perform, paintings will blossom in every corner. Art will regenerate lost housing estates and art will be the great motor of the new economy. Ah, the honeymoon period still feels good – may it last for ever.

How will he judge his success at the end of his reign? He needs off many goals, but first come the museums and galleries: he wants to make them all free again. He talks of people being able to just wander in, look at one painting or object for a few minutes over a lunch hour and stroll out again without paying. The great arts institutions will have to devise ways to open their doors to the masses. The Royal Opera House, for instance, that butt of all anti-arts venom, will have to offer more broadcasts, cheaper seats and

more performances relayed onto the Covent Garden piazza for all passers-by to enjoy. He talks of boosting the creative economy right across government departments.

However, there could be a worm inside the heart of Labour's new Jerusalem – Murdoch. Here Chris Smith picks his words with such caution that he slows down to half-speed, for the world awaits any sign of a Labour pay-back for the sudden and somewhat comic support of *The Sun* and the *New of the World* in the election.

Murdoch, effective controller of BSkyB, will own and control the future of digital satellite broadcasting; all others, including the BBC, will be obliged to enter this new broadcasting universe through his gateway to his set-top box, mitigated by the intervention of Ofcom. This very

month the ITC will make its crucial decision about whether or not a Murdoch-dominated consortium will also gain control of digital terrestrial television, excluding any real hope of a competitor in the same market for his prime movie and sports rights. What does Smith have to say about the ITC's imminent decision? As if walking over red hot coals, he replies that the ITC jealously guards its independence and expects no guidance from him. But several times he

stresses that his goal is "the widest possible diversity and plurality" in the media – a good sign, but more of a hint than a brave commitment.

Will there be an overall media policy? Yes, though not in the first batch of legislation. There will be a sigh of relief among many to hear him say emphatically that there will be no change in the current 20 per cent law – which bans any newspaper group with more than 20 per cent of the general readership from owning an ITV franchise or taking over Channel 5. During the passage of the Broadcasting Act last year, Labour's position was regarded by many as less than honourable when they wanted this threshold raised in order to please both the Mirror Group and Murdoch's News International. In a disreputable bid to woo them before the election, this would have allowed them into terrestrial television.

So what will the new media policy be? "We will be looking at the legislative framework of press freedom, diversity, plurality and access for everyone to the widest possible range of sources

of media and information. Issues arising in the immediate future will concern access to the new digital world ... and the wider issue of ownership." However, everyone knows that relations between Murdoch and Labour will not be decided inside the Heritage department, but in the highest cabal among top dabbler in the black arts. Any dispassionate observer of Chris Smith's body language – the screwing up of his face and the shifting about uncomfortably – might glean that if all this were left to him alone, he would have no truck with monopolists. But even this much he will not, can not say.

Except the hint emerges again: when he promises to increase the number of the crown jewels of sport that must be offered free to air to all. "There is no legal restriction on the number of events that could be added to the list," he says. Since Murdoch uses his control over key sports rights – especially the FA Premier League – as his battleship to force his satellite dishes into more homes, this would be a direct hit at him. For Murdoch sold his dishes purely on the back of bought sports rights that once were free, together with blockbuster American movies for which he has outpriced the free broadcasters. He has made virtually no new programmes. Will Chris Smith introduce quotas, like the French, insisting that all broadcasters provide some home-grown programmes? He says it would be legally difficult to make that bite on Sky, which is not officially a Britain-based broadcaster. But he sounds as if he might like to if the legal obstacle could be overcome. Is he worried by Murdoch's looming power? "I would be alarmed at dominance from any quarter," he replies diplomatically and repeats that his goal is "genuine diversity and choice". We shall have to wait and see who stands up to Murdoch when next he tries to seize another slice of media control.

Chris Smith's mighty empire covers a plethora of other national jewels, too many to survey in one interview. Will he break the American stranglehold on our cinema ownership and film distribution? How much money will he claw back for Channel 4 from the avaricious maw of the ITV companies? What of the Millennium Exhibition? We do touch on his views of BBC bureaucracy. No other department covers so many things people hold sacred, from opera to soap opera, football to futurists. Of course he won't please all of the people all of the time: after all: *de gustibus non est disputandum*.

Chris Smith
meets the
press after
his full and
frank
exchange of
views with
the top
brass of
Camelot
yesterday
Photograph:
Peter
Macdiarmid

Coming soon, an explosive new Irish sitcom

I see they are at it again.
Who are at it again?

The people who make all
the money out of Irish
comedy.

I'm not with you.
Surely you must have
noticed the plethora of
comedies set in Ireland?

Ballykissangel and Father Ted
and all those?

Oh those. Well, you must
set comedies somewhere. Why
not in Ireland?

Oh, sure. But why now?
There hasn't been a comedy
set in Ireland for 30 years,
and now suddenly they're
coming along the airwaves
like juggernauts on the
motorway. There's

Ballykissangel and Father Ted
and The Mahaffys...

Ah well, that's different.
Northern Ireland's a serious
place. Can't joke about death
and violence.

That's what I was saying.
They're at it again. There's a
new comedy series on Radio 4
this Wednesday called *The
Mahaffys*. Here's what the
Radio Times says about it.

Welcome to Tubberbiggle, a
small town in the west of
Ireland that is the scene of
some surreal goings-on in
this new comedy. The priest
does a phone-in confession
show for local radio...
Tubberbiggle. Was that

Irish writers and what do you
find? You find gritty stories
by Roddy Doyle on
Dublin housing estates. Go
to reality and what do you
find? You find Irish
journalists being shot dead
by Irish drug barons. You
find corrupt and pedantic
priests being shielded by the
Catholic Church. You find
100 yards of good road being
built by EU money which
should have built 100 miles.
You find...



Miles
Kingston

always done delightful little
unreal comedies in Irish
settings. Somerville and
Ross's *Tales of an Irish* RM.
Spike Milligan's *Puckoon*...

But it was always a colonial
view of Ireland. The Irish
don't see it that way. The
Irish have mostly found only
tragedy in their own land,

which is why we had Sean
O'Casey and Samuel Beckett
and W.B. Yeats and all those
gloomy fellows. Most of
them got so depressed by the
place that they had to leave
Ireland, leaving it free for
fantasists like J.P. Donleavy
to come in and

misdescribe...

*Hold on, hold on. What
about the people you've left
out? The comic Irish writers?*

Brendan Behan? Flann

O'Brien? The JM Synge of

The Playboy of the Western

Nothing very comic about
that lot, deep down. Brush
away the froth and foam
from the top of a Brendan
Behan play and you find a
dark and bitter mix beneath.

The Synge play is all about

failure, not success. And so
on.

Hold on a minute.

And it's always been the

same. The English have

Ah! I'm glad you asked me
that! I'm going to break new
ground. I'm going to produce
the first English TV sitcom
with a Northern Ireland
setting. And it's going to be
set in an IRA cell!

*WHAT? So all the
characters are IRA members?*

That's it. And in the first
episode they plan to blow up
the local McDonald's, like
the McDonald's that was
blown up in France last
week, in St Jean-de-Luz.

*But why would the IRA
want to blow up a
McDonald's and kill innocent
people?*

Ah! That's the whole
point. Nobody is killed. The
place is empty. It's the
middle of the night. The IRA
blow it up to gain intellectual
respectability among all the
chattering middle classes
who hate burger chains...

Hmm. I don't know...

And the Northern Ireland
Film Commission is offering
generous start-up grants to
any TV drama set in the
province, up to £40,000.

*Ah! Why didn't you say
so in the first place? And what
are you calling this sitcom?*

Ballymurphybeamish.

Poor enough.

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TSB	16.95%	£11,446	£16,954.00
TSB	16.95%	£11,278	£16,954.00
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Never take your voters for granted, Mr Jospin

In a mature democracy it matters how you consult the electorate. The conventional way open to Jacques Chirac, the French President, for refreshing his centre-right government was to have sacked his Prime Minister, Alain Juppé, and to have reconstructed his administration without calling an election. But in dissolving the French National Assembly a year before elections were due to take place anyway, Mr Chirac appeared to be considering only his own convenience. He forced a contest upon Mr Jospin's Socialist Party when it seemed evidently unready for combat, and he chose the month of May for the campaign because its many holidays made it difficult period for the left to assemble its forces.

The French electorate instinctively disliked this. You must neither ask voters questions they do not wish to answer, nor take them for granted. The episode reminded me of Mr Heath's dissolution in 1974 during a period of severe labour unrest. He appeared to be asking the electorate two questions rather than one: "Do you support my government's right to rule?" and "Are you sympathetic to the striking miners?" At the time, many voters felt the answer was "yes" to both questions. As a result, Mr Heath narrowly lost and a second election had to be held six months later to give Mr Wilson's Labour government a workable majority.

Mr Chirac's plan to renew the mandate for the centre-right coalition from which he himself springs had a second flaw. His government failed to keep the undertakings he made when he defeated Mr Jospin for the presidency two years ago. Unemployment has not been diminished, nor has the government been more responsive to people's hopes and fears. Thus when the former president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, commented that the electorate wished to be governed "autrement", in some other way, his remark was endlessly repeated and confirmed the French voters in their resentment of the Chirac/Juppé approach. As George Bush and John Major have both discovered, electorates no longer tolerate broken promises.

Nor are they easily frightened by politicians' tales of doom. Mr Major's warnings that Labour's constitutional plans would lead to the break-up of the United Kingdom and undo a thousand years of history were contemptuously rejected. Likewise Mr Chirac's repeated references to the dangers of cohabitation, under which a right-wing president must work with a Socialist government, were counter-productive. By their decisive vote on Sunday, the French replied that, on the contrary, they positively welcome power sharing. Indeed they are looking for a new politics. Mr Juppé recognised this in calling for "un vrai changement"; the president sought a "nouvel état" and Mr Balladur, the former prime minister of the centre-right, who "colabore" with Mr Mitterrand, said that a liberal policy "à la Française" must be invented which does not simply copy the Anglo-Saxon model.

The indispensable element of the new type of politics is pluralism, the toleration of a diversity of opinions and values, the exact opposite of one aspect of Thatcherism. There is something of this attitude in Mr Blair, with his use of senior business people for some key tasks



Andreas Whittam Smith
Mr Chirac's government failed to keep the promises he made when he won the presidency two years ago

and his stated willingness to let independent experts comment on legislative proposals before they reach the House of Commons. But whether by necessity or desire, Mr Jospin carries the notion of pluralism much further. He led a coalition comprising what *Le Monde* called a "strange alchemy" of socialist women, unknown Green candidates and a Communist Party still mutating, but not so fast that it has yet had to change its name.

For the past two to three years, these various strands of the French left have been engaging in a dialogue which, according to Mr Jospin, showed respect for each participant and which was conducted in public. While this process has led to large areas of agreement, Mr Jospin readily admits that differences remain. Chief among these is the Communists' opposition to monetary union. Whereas Mr Jospin wishes a soft Euro-currency rather than the hard form originally envisaged by Messrs Chirac and Kohl, the Communists are uninterested in any version.

But now that Mr Jospin has won handsomely comes the test of pluralism. The Socialist Party trounced the centre-right coalition but it still does not quite have a majority over all other parties including the Communists and Greens. Mr Jospin has quickly to reach accord with his partners on the open questions. But even if he had secured an overall majority, he would still have wanted to form a coalition. For him, pluralism has its own virtue. He said last week that, were he in a position to form a government, it would have to represent faithfully the "contours and proportions" fixed by the electorate. This seems of a piece with Mr Jospin's character, a mixture of strictness, simplicity and total honesty. People find it easy to identify themselves with him. "I have absolutely no desire to belong to any sort of elevated group. I take real pleasure in being faithful to my origins" he said recently.

Mr Jospin must hope to be Prime Minister for the next five years and then, for the second time, to stand for the presidency. What will he need to be able to say to the French electorate in 2002? He will have to show that many new jobs have been created during his period in office and that unemployment has fallen sharply.

He will have to deal effectively with the question of monetary union. On the one hand, it is an imperative of French policy to bind Germany tightly into the European Union; on the other hand French people will go on strike, or not, if they are asked to pay a heavy price for strict monetary union terms of employment and taxation.

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COMMENT

Whatever the cause of the breakdown in talks, Sir Christopher Tugendhat, chairman of Abbey National, wants no further truck with NatWest. But can he hope to keep it that way? Consolidation is the buzzword in banking these days ... there are no good public policy reasons for standing in its way.

We may never know how far down the merger aisle National Westminster Bank and Abbey National got before deciding to call it a day. Both parties are now staying firmly tight-lipped about the whole affair. It usually is with NatWest, which would like to buy something big in the UK to put itself back on a par with the likes of Lloyds TSB but has always found itself balking at the high multiples demanded.

Whatever the cause of the breakdown in talks, Sir Christopher Tugendhat, chairman of Abbey National, is now making it plain that he wants no truck with NatWest and is determined to remain independent. But can he hope to keep it that way? Consolidation is the buzzword in banking these days, with so many other industries, and in most cases there are no good public policy reasons for standing in its way.

The retail financial services industry is undergoing a revolution: nobody can complain, as they perhaps could have done five years ago, that that is a sector that lacks competition. Traditional boundaries that separated one type of financial institution from another are breaking down. Banks are becoming life insurers, life insurers are looking to become banks. Why even supermarkets want to be banks these days. New entrants, new technology, changing horizons, and a relentless, persistent downward pressure on costs, are conspiring to drive the main players into considering ever more ambitious mergers.

Five years ago, the competition authorities would have laughed NatWest out of court had it attempted to takeover Abbey National. But times have changed, and perhaps nobody would worry too much these days. That doesn't mean, however, that we ought to be taking a sympathetic view of banking consolidation of this type. The fact that NatWest should be even contemplating a merger with Abbey National is indicative of a wider failing among our leading high street banks.

Banks still on the whole have a dreadful reputation with their customers; what was once called the building societies movement still has a very good one. While the two operate in different areas of the market place, they are both in the same business of borrowing and lending. The banks have failed to get close to their customers, choosing rather to rely on inertia and monopoly to hold their position. The building societies have been much better at it. For the failed organisation to be taking over the successful one in order to protect and bolster its position in an increasingly competitive market place is something we should all be very suspicious of.

Search on for new Government sources

New Government, new sources. It seems that we on *The Independent* are going to have to find a few more of those after round-

ly getting it wrong last week in our story purporting to name all but one of the Treasury's four appointments to the Bank of England's new monetary committee. It seems that we fell victim to someone's wish list, rather than Gordon Brown's actual list, which was duly unveiled yesterday.

Of the two there's little doubt which will go down better in the City – it is the real one, rather than the imaginary. Our original list contained at least one person who might reasonably (though unfairly) be thought of as a Labour stooge – David Currie, who sits in the House of Lords as a Labour peer. No such criticism can be levelled at those actually chosen and Bank of England insiders are justifiably delighted at the outcome.

But that doesn't mean we are going to get a more "hawkish" interest rate policy than would have been advocated by our original list – one more in keeping with the Bank's old guard. Charles Goodhart is an old Bank of England hand, sound and solid as a rock with no ideological bent either way. He is also the inventor of Goodhart's law, which holds that statistics used to determine policy become useless because they are fundamentally changed by such attention.

Dr DeAnne Julius is a business economist who will incline towards the CBI's vaguely dovish view on interest rates, if in any direction at all. But she's nobody's poodle and she'll strive towards a rigid adherence to the inflation target. The same is true of Sir Alan Budd, who presumably took Kenneth

Clarke's side in the previous Chancellor's battles with Eddie George over interest rates.

As for Professor Willem Buiter, he is perhaps the least well known of the four in the City. He's a Keynesian, though as is only to be expected, very much New Keynesian, and he is one of the leading economic advocates in this country of European Monetary Union. On the face of it, then, this does not look like a committee which is about to engineer a fierce and immediate upward lurch in interest rates.

Their brief, in any case, is as much to support the Government's growth and employment objectives as its inflation target. The Bank's old guard can also be expected to take a rather less hawkish view than they have. Advice given by a Bank which will never be judged by its actions is always bound to lean towards the extremes. Now that freedom has finally been won, a softer, more considered and paradoxically, and rather less detached approach should begin to creep in.

nothing handout this country has ever experienced.

It is hard to see yesterday's midsummer madness turning out well. More Halifax shares changed hands yesterday than the Stock Exchange normally processes in a day for all its 3,000 companies. It was no more than a massive £4bn transfer of wealth from our pension funds to our back pockets.

It is inconceivable that the ensuing consumer binge will not result in higher interest rates by the end of the year than would otherwise be the case and the 80 per cent who didn't share in the windfall will pay for the summer holidays of the lucky few through higher mortgages.

As for those long-termists who opted for a continuing interest in the Halifax rather than cash, dealings so far suggest the high water mark for Halifax shares may have been reached shortly after 8.30 yesterday morning. Having opened right at the top of expectations, it was down all the way until the 734.5p close, just 2p above the average price paid by the institutions in Friday's auction.

While that pays tribute to a process that achieved much better value for Halifax members than the Alliance & Leicester's early sellers enjoyed, it also suggests the market's unease at the wholly artificial valuation being put on the new bank. The amount of blue sky between what Halifax is worth and the price desperate institutions are prepared to pay to get a weighting in this financial services giant is in all likelihood a frightening one.

Metroline chiefs set for windfall on flotation

Randeep Ramesh
Transport Correspondent

Directors at one of the last independent bus companies of the old London Transport network will reap a multi-million pound harvest when the operator is floated on the stock market this summer.

Metroline, which has a fleet of 430 buses and runs routes from Harrow into the capital, is looking to raise up to £5m through an institutional placing – valuing the company at £35m.

Staff at Metroline Holdings will also share in the payout – with more than 500 bus drivers and conductors in line for cash windfalls of up to £27,000.

The directors, who collectively put up £110,000 in 1994, will see the value of their investment increase by up to eighty times the original value. Declan O'Farrell, the company's managing director, put up £40,000 three years ago and has an 11 per cent stake. His paper worth after the flotation will shoot up to £3.3m.

Metroline's 700 staff were given an average of 330 shares each through a profit-sharing trust when it was bought from the Government in a management buy-out backed by Granville Private Equity Managers in 1994. GPEM will have to sell some of its equity in order to get 25 per cent of the company on the market – a pre-requisite for a full listing.

The size of the share allocations for staff, unusually, was calculated on the length of an employee's service rather than his or her position in the company. The average staff holding is likely to be valued at about £9,000 at the time of the flotation.

Mr O'Farrell said yesterday that the money would be used to pay back £2.5m of loan stock and expand Metroline's presence in the London area, which has 6 per cent of the bus market.

"We have to replace many of the older double-decker buses to update our fleet to be able to win more new franchises," said Mr O'Farrell. "As well as

vehicles we will look to invest in new depot sites. We have grown our share of the market from 4.5 per cent in 1994 to 6 per cent today and intend to get a larger share."

Although the new Government has indicated that it wish-

es some re-regulation of the bus industry, it is unlikely to affect the capital's routes – which are contracted out for five-year terms under the supervision of the public sector.

Metroline is one of only two companies left of the London

bus network – split into 11 bus divisions – which has not been gobble up by the bigger transport concerns after the government auctioned them off in 1994.

The company made adjusted pre-tax profits of £3m on sales

of £37.1m for the year to October 1996. Mr O'Farrell is keen to expand the company. "In the future we shall be in the market for London Underground Tube franchises should they become available or look for more acquisitions," he said.



In a transport of delight: Declan O'Farrell, Metroline chief executive (left), and John Golledge, the finance director

Hodgson resigns from Ronson

Magnus Grimond

Howard Hodgson, the man who helped create Britain's biggest undertaking group in the 1980s, has abruptly resigned as chief executive of Ronson, his latest quoted vehicle, after the lighters group warned that it would plunge to around a £2m loss for last year. The figure is double the amount the group said it would lose three months ago and sent the shares down 2.5p to 11.4p yesterday, an all-time low. At that level, they are just above half the 25p a share at which Ronson raised £10.4m in a rights issue in November.

It is the second of Mr Hodgson's business ventures to turn sour since he made around £7.5m selling his funeral business in 1991. He was heavily criticised after the collapse in

March 1993 of five ventures, ranging from franchised computer accounting systems to life assurance, which he had backed, losing all the £1.2m put up by 80 franchisees.

Mr Hodgson, who is to be replaced on an interim basis by David Clipsham, said yesterday: "Having given the matter much thought, I have decided to step down. I am most proud of the recreation of Ronson as a world brand and of the UK, international and duty free markets in the last three years, but I think it is time to hand over the reins."

The chief executive was paid a salary of £150,000 on a two-year contract, but the company suggested he was unlikely to receive a pay-off anything like the indicated maximum of £300,000. Alan Kilkenny, a non-executive director representing one of the

underwriters of November's cash call, said: "The manner in which he resigned suggests there is going to be a sensible arrangement." Asked if there had been any pressure from the rest of the board for Mr Hodgson's resignation, Mr Kilkenny said that had not been necessary.

Christine Pickles, corporate development director, is also to leave the group at the end of the month and both the latest departures follow the resignation of David Moffat, finance director, in November.

Mr Kilkenny said following the appointment of a new finance director in April, Laurie Todd, a number of older debts had materialised which had been classified as requiring bad debt provisions. The auditors were looking at the company's books and the figures had yet to be fully

finalised, he said. Part of the earlier losses related to problems as a result of last year's fire in the Newcastle factory.

Mr Clipsham, who joins as acting managing director, trained in marketing at Procter & Gamble and had a number of appointments, culminating in a buy-in of the publishing interests of Penton. Mr Hodgson's "flamboyance has given a much needed push to the [Ronson] brand, but it now needs some same and sensible marketing work".

Shaun Dowling, formerly an executive with Guinness, who was to become non-executive chairman now becomes executive chairman. Mr Dowling, who acquired 2.5 million shares in the rights issue, has a 3.7 per cent stake in Ronson. Mr Hodgson retains just under 2 per cent.

Eastern, the largest of the 12 regional electricity companies, yesterday urged Gordon Brown, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to impose the windfall tax in such a way that British Telecom was made liable for nearly half the total raised.

The company also hinted strongly in a submission to the Treasury that if BT and British Gas escaped the levy then Eastern would join in a legal challenge.

At a meeting with senior Treasury officials the company, led by chairman John Devaney, said that the fairest and most practical means of levying the tax would be on the shareholder gains made by the privatised utilities in the first year after

privatisation. On that basis Eastern calculates that BT would be liable to pay for 47 per cent of the levy or just under £2.5bn if the tax raises £5bn. British Gas, meanwhile, would have to bear 15 per cent of the levy but the 12 RECs and the two Scottish electricity companies, Scottish Power and Scottish Hydro, would only have to pay 13 per cent of the total levy. The water companies would pay 15.5 per cent.

In a written submission to Mr Brown, Eastern said that calculating the tax over a longer period than one year would move it away from the concept of being a one-off windfall tax and penalise those companies which had made genuine efficiency gains while compensating those that had performed poorly.

Eastern wants BT to pay 'half windfall tax'

Michael Harrison

Manufacturing activity in the US unexpectedly accelerated in May from a month earlier, even as Americans slowed their pace of spending in March and April, new data showed. The National Association of Purchasing Management's factory index rose to 57.1 last month, the highest since November 1994, from 54.2 in April. A separate Commerce Department report showed that personal spending inched up 0.1 per cent in April, the smallest rise since September.

Grampian shares soar on takeover talks

Shares in Grampian Television climbed by 40p to 302.5p on confirmation that it was in takeover talks with Scottish Media, which owns Scottish Television and *The Herald* newspaper. If the talks are successful, Scottish Media will make a bid around 320p a share, valuing Grampian at £105m. The move comes after the Government last November raised the limit on ownership of terrestrial television franchises from two to three, as long as companies do not exceed a 15 per cent share of the total UK media market.

Unexpected increase in US manufacturing

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BUDGETED

...BECAUSE WITH DIRECT DEBIT BILLS CAN BE SPREAD AND IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT OF AN ERROR YOUR BANK GUARANTEES TO REFUND YOUR MONEY IMMEDIATELY.

UK BANKS AND BUILDING SOCIETIES

DIRECT Debit

DD YOUR DOUGH

Abbott Mead Vickers in talks on Leagas management buyout

Cathy Newman

Abbott Mead Vickers is in talks to sell Leagas Delaney, one of its two wholly owned advertising subsidiaries, to its management. A deal could be struck within a few weeks.

Senior management at Leagas Delaney are working on a detailed business plan to be presented to the parent company by the end of the month. Tim Delaney, the agency's founder, Bruce Haines, the agency's chief executive, and four other executives, are behind the buyout proposal.

Leagas has annual billings of £70m world-wide, and it is understood management is looking to offer Abbott Mead in the region of £10m for the business. Insiders say Abbott Mead has accepted Leagas's breakaway "in principle", but a price has yet to be settled.

Rumours about Leagas's plans to separate from Abbott Mead have been circulating for some months. However, it is believed that several early attempts to hammer out an agreement proved inconclusive.

Now, following a valuation of the business by KPMG, the chartered accountants, Leagas is thought to be closer to clinching a deal.

Neither Peter Mead, Abbott Mead's chairman, nor Mr Delaney were available for comment on the Leagas situation.

Leagas executives feel they would thrive outside the Abbott Mead media empire, which has

expanded over the last few years to incorporate the media planning and buying agency New PHD, the customer magazine publisher, Redwood Publishing, and some public relations companies.

Some industry observers have said that Leagas is overshadowed by Abbott Mead, which earlier this year leapfrogged to top place in *Campaign* magazine's annual league table, displacing Saatchi & Saatchi.

Leagas won international work for Fanta, a Coca-Cola brand, at the end of last year. BBDO, which holds a 26 per cent stake in Abbott Mead, handles the rival Pepsico account world-wide. One advantage of the buyout would be to remove any possible conflict of interest between the two brands.

Leagas was founded 17 years ago by Ron Leagas and Mr Delaney and has 95 employees. Its head office is in London and last year it set up an office in San Francisco after winning international work from Adidas, worth £20m in annual billings. The win was the agency's biggest to date.

Peter Mead: Tight-lipped on Leagas speculation

Smiths' acquisitions step up enlargement

Smiths-Industries yesterday made two acquisitions, one on each side of the Atlantic, in a move that further enlarges its industrial division.

The company is spending a total of £33m cash for Poly-Phaser Corporation, a US company specialising in lightning protection for telecoms equipment, and Torin Holdings, a UK-based maker of ventilation and air movement products.

The two acquisitions bring the total spent since 1991 on the enlargement of the industrial division to £773m. Since 1991, the division's annual sales have grown to £328m and profits have grown to £55m.

Keith Butler-Wheelerhouse, chief executive of Smiths, said: "Greater focus on business

areas where we can achieve market or technological leadership is the recipe for the industrial group's success."

These two additions clearly enhance that process. They add more than £20m to sales and broaden the range of markets we can serve. Both are expected to make a positive contribution to Smiths Industries' earnings in their first full year."

Poly-Phaser is based near Reno, Nevada, and employs 140 people. It is one of the world's leading makers of lightning protection components and systems, principally for the wireless cellular telecoms industry.

Smiths has paid £28.7m (£17.5m) for Poly-Phaser and has acquired net assets valued at £7.2m. In 1996 the business

made an operating profit of £4m.

Torin Holdings is being bought for £15.5m. It sells its products primarily to original equipment manufacturers for use in computers, business machines, and heating/ventilation equipment for industrial and domestic applications. Its product range complements the activities of Smiths Industries' Vent-Axia division, which is the leading UK supplier of fans to the domestic, commercial and industrial markets, as well as fans for domestic central heating boilers.

Based at Swindon, Wiltshire, Torin employs 155 people, and is owned by the management, which is backed by institutional investors, with 3i the lead institutional shareholder.

JD Sports shares dive after warning

Sameena Ahmad

Tradepoint, the AIM-listed rival to the London Stock Exchange, was forced to confirm yesterday that it needed to raise money following rumours that it was in financial difficulty.

Though the group's statement gave no details of the fund-raising, it is expected to announce a private placing of less than £1m this week and is seeking to raise up to £5m in a public offering - probably involving a placing and open offer - before the autumn.

The group, which launched an order-driven electronic stock market in September 1995 to rival the Stock Exchange's monopoly on UK equity trading, is thought to be running low on cash.

Sources suggest that even with this week's new funds, it has just a few months' money left. Advisers to the company are thought to be seeking to raise around £10m in total, enough funding to cover around this year's costs and to take the group to profitability.

Michael Waller-Bridge, Tradepoint's chief executive,

said: "We want to get away from the short term financing we have used in the past and put long term money in place."

Since the group formed it has raised around £20m. Mr Waller-Bridge said that Tradepoint had no debt, but he would not disclose how much cash the group had left.

"We've built our exchange, we have the confidence of our shareholders and this trading period is the best for a year. We are on course to break even by the end of this year," Mr Waller-Bridge added.

However, some analysts have raised concerns that the group will run out of money before it hits its target of 2 per cent of UK equity trades, the volume required for it to break even.

One said: "Building up this business takes time. We don't expect the group to hit break even for 12 months."

From October, Tradepoint will also have to compete directly with the Stock Exchange's own order-driven

trading, is thought to be running low on cash.

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with this week's new funds, it has just a few months' money left. Advisers to the company are thought to be seeking to raise around £10m in total, enough funding to cover around this year's costs and to take the group to profitability.

Michael Waller-Bridge, Tradepoint's chief executive,

Italians bail out Fallon for Classics

Racing

GREG WOOD

Just five days before Entrepreneur sets off as the hot favourite for the Derby, there was a timely lesson yesterday in the perils of relying on previous form. Kieren Fallon has plenty of that, following a succession of run-ins with the authorities in which he has generally come off worse, but yesterday he heard that the Italian turf authorities have agreed to defer a 10-day suspension imposed by the stewards in Rome nine days ago. That allows him to partner Symonds Inn in the Derby and, above all, Reams Of Verse, the hot favourite, in the Oaks.

Fallon's suspension will now start on June 22, leaving his free not just for Epsom but for Royal Ascot too, where he is due to ride Sleepytime, the 1,000 Guineas winner, in the Coronation Stakes. "I am very pleased for him," Henry Cecil, trainer of both Reams Of Verse and Sleepytime, said. "Pat Eddery [who was standing by to ride Reams Of Verse] knows the horses but Kieren is first jockey and I am very glad that he will be able to ride them."

Fallon travelled to Italy yesterday to plead his case, a trip that will be thoroughly justified if Reams Of Verse wins on Friday, while Symonds Inn, for all that is on offer at 33-1 for the Derby, will have as much chance as most of his rivals if, for whatever reason, Entrepreneur fails to run his race on Saturday. One potential obstacle for Michael Stoute's colt, a troubled run in a huge field, is no longer a threat, however, since he was one of just 16 declarations at yesterday's five-day stage.

Just one of those rivals is trained abroad, but there are still plenty of British punters willing to bet that the greatest Classic in the world will leave home soil for the first time in 13 years. Cloudings, whose trainer, André Fabre, won the French Derby for the first time two days ago, was 33-1 for the British original less than a week ago, but the convincing success of Peintre Celebre, and the belief that Cloudings may be a better prospect than his stablemate, have forced his price down to just 10-1 with the tote, while

Ladbrokes and Hills offer just two points more.

"He has brought the Derby market back to life," Rob Hartnett, of the tote, said yesterday. "If weight of money is a good guide then Entrepreneur has a very serious challenger from across the water."

It should pay to remember, however, that the layers are desperate to balance their ante-post books, most of which include serious money for just one horse, and while Cloudings won the Group One Prix Lupin last month, he scrambled home from an unusually poor field that day and is not the most convincing of the opponents to the favourite.

Olivier Peslier, though, has sufficient belief in the colt's chance to abandon the ride on Benny The Dip, at present an 8-1 chance for the race, to ride Cloudings for Fabre and Sheikh

RICHARD EDMONDSON
NAP: Marchion
(Brighton 4.30)
NB: Velvet Jones
(Brighton 3.00)

Mohammed, who has yet to see his maroon and white silks lead the Derby field home. This leaves John Gosden, Benny The Dip's trainer, with a vacancy which, as yet, has not been filled, while riding arrangements are also still to be finalised for Barry Hills's two runners, The Fly and Musals.

Michael Hills, successful 12 months ago on Shaamit, will have the pick of the pair, with Ray Cochrane taking the reins on his reject.

Most of the colts declared yesterday seem certain to take their place on Saturday – not surprisingly, since it has cost several thousand pounds to get them this far – but some doubts remain about Peter Chapman-Hyam's entries. Romanov and Single Empire "want to wait and see how they are," Chapman-Hyam said. "Romanov finished third in the Irish Guineas and could be suited by the step up in trip, but I want to see him work tomorrow. Single Empire had a hard race in winning the Italian Derby, but he is tough. No jockey arrangements have been made, although John Reid will ride whichever he wants."



Olivier Peslier guides Benny The Dip to victory at York but will now ride Cloudings at Epsom. Photograph: George Selwyn

RACING'S FUTURES MARKET

Oaks Stakes (1m 4f)	
Reams Of Verse (H Cocal)	4-6
Strawberry Roan (A P O'Brien)	doubtful
Yashmak (H Cocal)	9-2
Crown Of Light (M Stoute)	8-1
Shadai (Sead bin Suroor)	8-1
Endeville (J Osvin)	16-1
Ukraine Venture (J Woods)	16-1
Savoir (W R Hem)	16-1
Althea (C Britain)	25-1
Book At Bedtime (C Cox)	33-1
Ellie (P Chapman-Hyam)	33-1
Geniale Royal (I Hammond)	50-1
Blot Balados (Sead bin Suroor)	66-1
Imperial Scholar (I Eustace)	100-1
Mrs Miller (P Kelleway)	100-1
Each-way a quarter the odds, places 1, 2, 3 (Epsom, Friday) – with a run	

Each-way a quarter the odds, places 1, 2, 3 (Epsom, Friday) – with a run

Derby Stakes (1m 4f)	
Entrepreneur (M Stoute)	4-5
Silver Patriarch (J Dunlop)	5-1
Benny The Dip (J Gosden)	8-1
Cloudings (A Fabre/F)	14-1
Fabio (B Hartley)	14-1
Gold Demand (Sead bin Suroor)	20-1
Grapeshot (J Cumani)	20-1
Symonds Inn (I Fitzgerald)	25-1
Single Empire (P Chapman-Hyam)	25-1
The Fly (B Hills)	33-1
Musals (B Hills)	40-1
Single Empire (P Chapman-Hyam)	50-1
Crystal Harted (M Stoute)	66-1
Stowaway (Sead bin Suroor)	80-1
Yankee (M Stoute)	86-1
Pagan (B Kelleway)	150-1
Each-way a quarter the odds, places 1, 2, 3 (Epsom, Saturday)	

Each-way a quarter the odds, places 1, 2, 3 (Epsom, Saturday)

BRIGHTON

HYPERION
2.30 Goodbye Gatemen
3.00 Velvet Jones
3.30 Paddy's Rice (nb)
4.00 Yet Again

GOING: Firm.

STAKES: 1m 2f, 1m 4f – outside; rest – inside.

DRAW ADVANTAGE: Low numbers best over 5f & 6f.

Left-hand, U-shaped course, undulating and sharp.

Course: E of town. Follow signs from town centre. Brighton station 1m (fastest from London, Victoria, ADL 100). Car park: limited under 16s free; 1st 100 free; 2nd 100 free; 3rd 100 free; 4th 100 free; 5th 100 free; 6th 100 free; 7th 100 free; 8th 100 free; 9th 100 free; 10th 100 free; 11th 100 free; 12th 100 free; 13th 100 free; 14th 100 free; 15th 100 free; 16th 100 free; 17th 100 free; 18th 100 free; 19th 100 free; 20th 100 free; 21st 100 free; 22nd 100 free; 23rd 100 free; 24th 100 free; 25th 100 free; 26th 100 free; 27th 100 free; 28th 100 free; 29th 100 free; 30th 100 free; 31st 100 free; 32nd 100 free; 33rd 100 free; 34th 100 free; 35th 100 free; 36th 100 free; 37th 100 free; 38th 100 free; 39th 100 free; 40th 100 free; 41st 100 free; 42nd 100 free; 43rd 100 free; 44th 100 free; 45th 100 free; 46th 100 free; 47th 100 free; 48th 100 free; 49th 100 free; 50th 100 free; 51st 100 free; 52nd 100 free; 53rd 100 free; 54th 100 free; 55th 100 free; 56th 100 free; 57th 100 free; 58th 100 free; 59th 100 free; 60th 100 free; 61st 100 free; 62nd 100 free; 63rd 100 free; 64th 100 free; 65th 100 free; 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Breathless Bruguera
John Roberts sees the Spaniard beat Michael Chang at the French Open, page 27

SPORT

A fast buck
Mike Rowbottom on the clash of the shoe sponsors, page 26

England find a zest for tournament play

When England defeated Poland on Saturday, *Le Tournoi*, the four-nation World Cup appetiser for which the national side flew to France yesterday, became a valid learning exercise. Until then it had been haunted by the ghosts of Foxboro.

That was where Graham Taylor's England side, still traumatised by taking one World Cup point in six from matches in Poland and Norway, lost to the United States. They were on a similar World Cup reconnaissance – except it was increasingly evident that they would not actually be in America when it mattered in 1994.

Since Don Revie's England had made a similarly ill-fated trip to Argentina the year before the 1978 World Cup, Hoddle may have had his doubts when he contemplated *Le Tournoi* even though he said last week: "I'm not superstitious".

Saturday's victory has changed the whole nature of England's involvement. What

might have been an introverted, downcast and suspicious playing party left Luton airport yesterday in buoyant mood. Even so, Hoddle was quick yesterday to underline that the celebratory mood would not be allowed to result in excesses. Mindful of the adverse publicity which followed England's last prolonged overseas trip, to Hong Kong, Hoddle indicated that the team would only be allowed out of their hotel under supervision.

"It will be relaxed but professional," Hoddle said. "Any relaxing away from football will be controlled. We are there for business reasons. The players would not want it any other way, they don't want a Fred Karno's Army with nightclubs and so on. This is experience for 12 months down the line. If we are to win the World Cup, we will have to make sacrifices."

Paul Gascoigne, a central figure in the Hong Kong high jinks, did travel despite the leg injury he suffered in Poland, as did David Beckham, who took

a knock on the knee. However, Nicky Butt's hamstring has failed to respond to treatment and he has stayed behind. To replace him, Lee Clark flies out today after completing his £2.5m transfer from Newcastle United to relegated Sunderland.

As a schoolboy, Clark was

praised for greatness but injuries and the influx of foreign players on Tyneside has re-

Glenn Moore, in Nantes, looks forward to *Le Tournoi de France*, which kicks off today

stricted his progress. "He has an immense talent and I was very impressed with him a couple of years ago. He has not become a poor player but for one thing or another he has not had a strenuous season, which means he will be fresh. Like Nicky, he

is a midfielder who likes to get forward."

Clark may make his England debut as the win in Poland has given Hoddle licence to experiment, rather than having to

see face. This is especially so in the opening game against

Italy in Nantes tomorrow. With an important World Cup tie coming up in Rome in October, neither side will wish to show their full hand. Then there are fixtures with France, next year's hosts, in Montpellier on 7 June, and Brazil, the World Cup holders, in Paris on 10 June.

Paul Scholes and Andy Cole may make their first starts during the tournament but the

Manchester United player who

can really seize his chance is

Beckham. Hoddle has already

intimated that he will give Beckham an opportunity to shape the

defence. He's doing it more and

is capable of doing that and

stepping up into midfield."

Apart from Germany, who are playing a qualifying game against Ukraine, the tournament features the strongest possible opposition, but none of the other teams are unbeatable.

England lost to Norway last week – putting into perspective England's results there – and Ronald

o's mind is less on his

international present than his

club future.

France, like Brazil, short of competitive football, are over-loaded with midfielders and two of them, Zinedine Zidane and Didier Deschamps, will still be reeling from that Dortmund defeat. They are also embroiled in a row over poor money. The Italians, meanwhile, only finished their domestic season on Sunday.

Hammers' double signing

West Ham yesterday completed the double signing of the midfielder Eyal Berkovitch for £1.75m from Southampton and Queen's Park Rangers' Andy Impey in a £1.2m deal.

Berkovitch, who has signed a five-year contract, broke off training with the Israeli national squad to travel to London to seal the deal.

Impey, an England Under-21 international winger, has signed for four years – and QPR could yet net a further £200,000 if certain criteria are met.

West Ham's managing director, Peter Storrie, said Berkovitch also held talks with Tottenham before choosing the East London club. "It involved a mad dash to Heathrow but it was well worth it. It was very creatively done," he said.

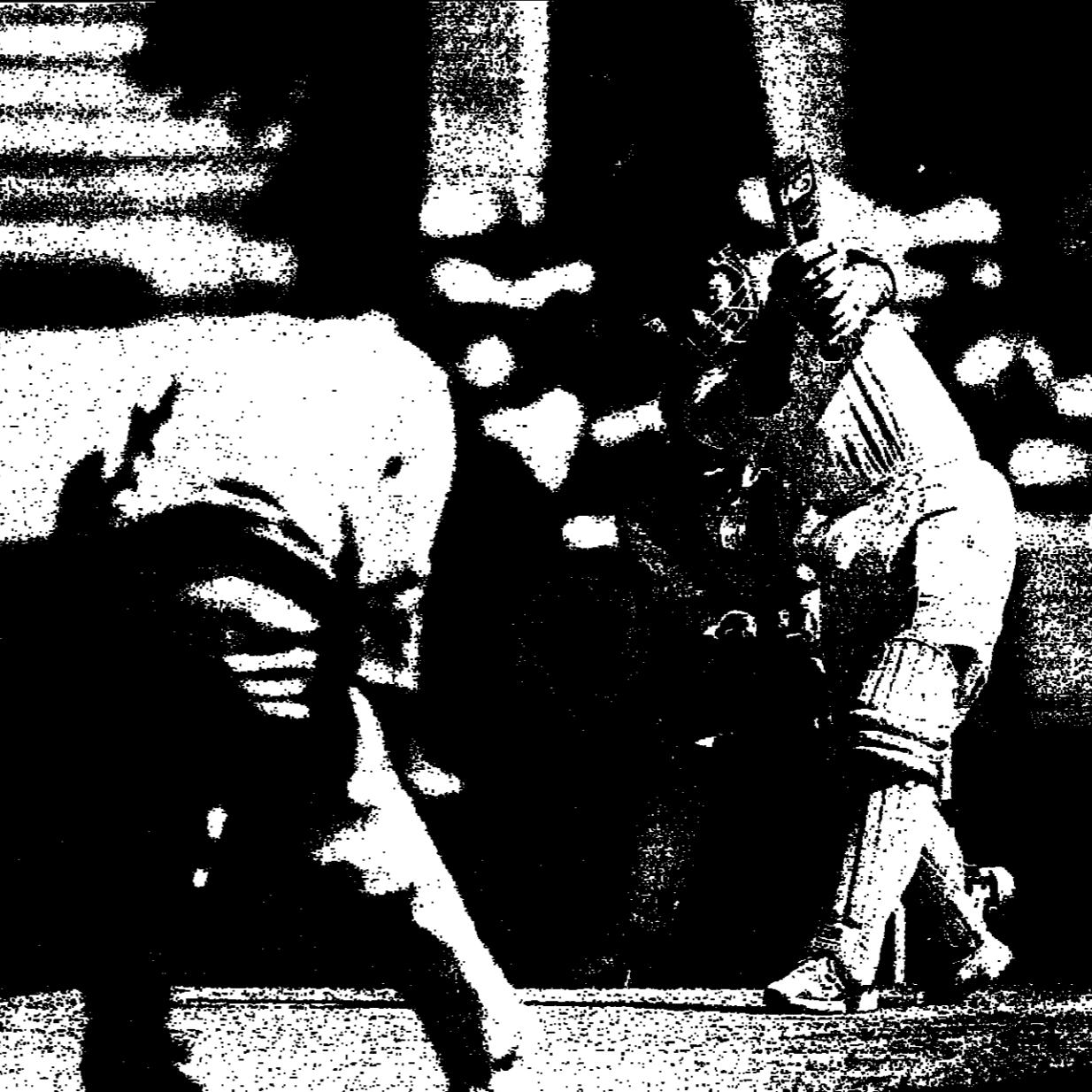
The Hammers' manager, Harry Redknapp, said: "Andy Impey was training with England not so long ago and is a player I have admired for a long time because he has pace, strength, and he can get by people."

"Berkovitch is a tremendous little player who absolutely murdered us at The Dell last season."

However, Redknapp virtually ruled himself out of signing Robert Lee, the Newcastle and England midfielder, at least until next summer when the player is out of contract. "A year down the line, who knows what will happen," he said.

Clark joins Sunderland,

page 27



Chris Adams of Derbyshire hits out against Australia's Michael Bevan yesterday

Photograph: Robert Hallam

Troubled Wigan facing police investigation

Rugby League

DAVE HADFIELD

Police in Wigan have confirmed they are to investigate irregularities in the proxy votes that kept the club chairman and vice-chairman in power last month.

Jack Robinson and Tom Rathbone were re-elected at an emergency meeting called by shareholders trying to force them out because of their role in selling the Central Park ground for super-market development.

Both men appeared to have lost a vote on a show of hands, but survived when the results of a supervised ballot – including proxy votes – were announced.

Members of the Shareholders Action Group expressed qualms on the night and a file has now been passed to the police who say an investigation will be started.

It is understood that one allegation refers to votes supposedly cast in favour of the

board by a shareholder who had been dead for several months.

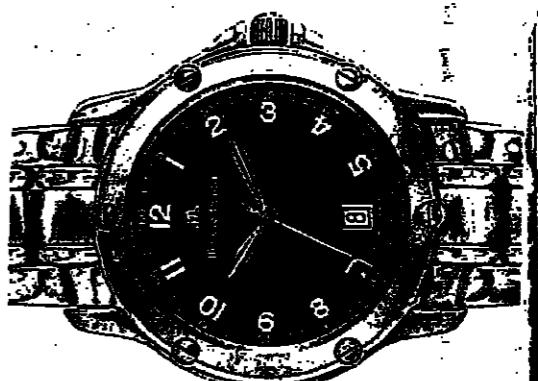
Peter Norbury, the solicitor acting for the group, said: "There are allegations which, if they were true, would be very serious allegations. Quite separately, we have suggested to Wigan that, as there are doubts about some votes, there should be a re-convoked EGM and a new ballot."

Wigan are making no official comment on the allegations, but Robinson has warned that continuing action by the shareholders could jeopardise the club's ability to hang on to their Great Britain wing, Jason Robinson.

Robinson is due to join the Australian Rugby League at the end of this month, but wants to stay at Wigan if they can meet his wage demands – thought to be over £1m for three years.

Robinson, the player flew out as part of a 22-man Wigan squad for the first stage of the World Club Championship in Australia at the weekend.

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THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No 3315. Tuesday 3 June

By Aled

Monday's Solution

PUTUFON CABARET
A R O O L A I H
G A U D I R I O G R A N D E
E M S W U R G S
A T P R E S E N T I S S U E
M O D E R N I S S
T O A S T I M P A T I E N S
R A A R E N
O R D I N A N C E R A T I O
F O R C E H E A R T F E L T
I A R E L R A N A
C A P I T I V A E L O N G
E I N T N C U O
R E D D R E S S T A K E S I N

ACROSS
7 Time and time again accepts article's defensive position (4)
8 Having superior nature not seen in open pie? (5-5)
10 Prohibit clean-up of hanger-on (6)
11 Tie boat up in France and this list is apparent (6)
12 A trail which goes up (6)
13 One road builder certain to be going nowhere (8)
15 A copper arrests another lieutenant to limit going native? (13)
18 Pause after a theologian's death to find

something extra (8)
20 Fret about a returning herbaceous plant (6)
22 Legislation rejected by king's concerning actor (4-2)
24 Exhaust in the end, taking tube (8)
25 Animal gets complaint in far-eastern country (10)
26 New age of gas (4)
DOWN
1 Place for hen party? (2-4-4)
2 Can set out a position (6)
3 Might it make mules act drunkenly? (8)
21 Show regret when imprisoned once more? (6)
23 One has to bear hard pain (4)

Carver's miraculous recovery

Golf

Matt Carver yesterday completed an astonishing recovery to lead the first qualifying round of the Amateur Championship at Royal St George's, just two weeks after being almost paralysed in a car crash.

The 23-year-old from West Kent – whose father is English but who was born in Australia – was coming back from the Eng-

lish strokeplay championship at Saunton when his car was hit from behind and completely written off. He was knocked unconscious after his head hit the steering wheel and he spent a week in the neurosurgical unit at Bristol's Frenchay Hospital where he suffered total body paralysis for the first two days after the accident.

"The doctor did say there was a chance I might be paralysed for good but thankfully the

feeling began to come back gradually," Carver said.

"The strange thing is I still have completely no feeling at all in both my forearms from the elbows down to the wrists. It's strange but it doesn't seem to affect my golf."

It certainly did not yesterday, when Carver produced an impressive level-par 70 in howling gales, three birdies giving him a three-shot lead over New Zealand's Richard Hislop.

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